Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-93-047 *12 March 1993*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Documentary Examines UN Embargo Violations *[Hamburg ARD TV]* 1
Romania Issues Statement on FRY Barges on Danube *[TANJUG]* 5
Serbs Criticize U.S. Report on Human Rights Abuses *[TANJUG]* 5

ALBANIA

Berisha Addresses Assembly on Human Rights *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Former Owners Hold Rally, Demand Properties *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Government Members Meet Trade Union Leaders *[ATA]* 7
Union Leaders Oppose Government Resignation *[ATA]* 7
Juvenile Girls Sold to Macedonia for Profits *[REPUBLIKA 25 Feb]* 8
Arbnori Promises 'Reparation' for Victims of Regime *[ATA]* 8

BULGARIA

Greek Prime Minister Arrives for Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Meets With President Zhelev *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Attends Official Dinner *[Sofia Radio]* 9
Holds Talks With Berov *[Sofia Radio]* 10
Zhelev Receives Turkish Defense Minister Ayaz *[BTA]* 10
Aleksandrov Describes Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Karabashev Signs Economic Protocol With Ukraine *[BTA]* 11
Joint Plan With Romania To Inspect Convoy *[BTA]* 11
Customs Authorities Board Convoy *[Sofia Radio]* 12
Cocom Experts To 'Map Out' Future Cooperation *[BTA]* 12
Foreign Directors Discuss Telecommunications *[BTA]* 12
Parliament Questions Dimitrov on Education Reform *[BTA]* 12
Cabinet Discusses 1993 Draft Budget *[BTA]* 12
New Television Chief Desires Professionalism *[BTA]* 13
New Trade Union Amalgamation Established *[BTA]* 14
Fourth Parliamentary Group Formed *[Sofia Radio]* 14

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel Comments on Division of CSFR *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 11 Mar]* 15
Defense Ministry Discusses Concept for Army *[TELEGRAF 10 Mar]* 16
Dyba Rejects Comparisons With U.S. Program *[CTK]* 16
Parliamentary Delegation Visits Austria *[CTK]* 16
Parliamentarians Optimistic on Ties with EC *[CTK]* 16
Minister Discusses Ways To Settle Slovak Debt *[CTK]* 16
Klaus, EC's Brittan Discuss Duties on Steel *[CTK]* 17
Government Signs Agreement With Trade Unions *[CTK]* 17
KDU-CSL Presidium on Administrative Division *[CTK]* 17
Army Could Guard Borders With Slovakia *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Mar]* 18
New Currency in Circulation by End of Year *[CTK]* 18
Police Confiscate Submachine Guns in Plzen *[CTK]* 18
Independent Candidates Dominate Local Elections *[TELEGRAF 10 Mar]* 18
Moravian-Silesian Assembly Writes CE *[CTK]* 19
Article Urges Press To Keep Klaus Under Control *[RESPEKT 8-14 Mar]* 19

SLOVAKIA

Meciar Says Nation To Abandon Klaus Policies *[CTK]* 21
Interviewed on New Economic Policy *[Bratislava Radio]* 21
Briefs Journalists *[Bratislava Radio]* 22
Economy Ministry Official Discusses Insolvency *[PRAVDA 9 Mar]* 23

Czech, Slovak Transport Agreement Signed *[CTK]* 24
Deputy Rules Out Armed Conflict With Hungary *[CTK]* 24
Investigation of U.S. Embassy Bugging Halted *[Bratislava Radio]* 24

HUNGARY

Ukraine Poses No Military Threat *[MTI]* 25
ISP Launches New Christian National Movement *[MTI]* 25
Parliament Approves Law To Insure Deposits *[MTI]* 25

POLAND

Suchocka Accepts Piatkowski as Justice Minister *[PAP]* 26
Treaty Signed With Turkish Foreign Minister *[PAP]* 26
Turkey Supports Efforts To Join NATO *[PAP]* 26
Walesa Receives Turkish Foreign Minister *[PAP]* 26
Drzycimski Discusses Presidential Powers *[Warsaw Radio]* 27
Head of Privatization Committee Appointed *[PAP]* 30
Lithuania Post Incident Protested *[Warsaw TV]* 30
Government To Receive EC Aid for Environment *[PAP]* 30
Official Opposes Breaking Arms Embargoes *[PAP]* 31
Teachers Union Critical of Modernization Program *[PAP]* 31
EBRD To Grant Loans to Small Businesses *[PAP]* 31
Fuel Prices Reportedly To Increase in 1993 *[PAP]* 31
Transport Strike Ends; Farm Protest Announced *[PAP]* 31
Milczanowksi Refuses To give Sejm Information *[Warsaw TV]* 32
Szwonder Extradition Delayed; Demonstration Organized *[Warsaw TV]* 32
Security Service Arrests Uranium Dealers *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 8 Mar]* 32
Trial of Former Communist Officials Begins *[PAP]* 32
Public Sector Workers Stage Nationwide Protest *[PAP]* 33
Tyminski Wants To Reveal 'Black Briefcase' on TV *[PAP]* 33
Commentary Welcomes New IMF Agreement *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 9 Mar]* 33
Situation of Lithuanian Poles 'Not Easy' *[PAP]* 34
Article Reviews Walesa-Solidarity Relationship *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 10 Mar]* 34

ROMANIA

Opposition Parties Officially Enter Censure Motion *[ROMPRES]* 35
Cabinet Members Defend Reform *[ROMPRES]* 35
Parties React to Motion *[Bucharest Radio]* 36
UDMR Agrees With Motion *[ROMPRES]* 36
PUNR Against Motion *[ROMPRES]* 36
Gherman, Nastase Express 'Surprise' *[ROMPRES]* 36
Dailies Discuss Censure Motion *[ROMPRES]* 37
Iliescu Reviews Politicial, Economic Gains *[DIMINEATA 9 Mar]* 37
Council of Europe Rapporteurs Discuss Minority Issues *[ROMPRES]* 40
Defense Council Hears Reports on Funding *[Bucharest Radio]* 41
Presidential Spokesman Views Tokes Statement *[CURIERUL NATIONAL 8 March]* 41
UN Resolution Confirms Observation of Human Rights *[ROMPRES]* 42
Oancea Hopes For Recovery of Agriculture, Livestock *[ROMPRES]* 42
Ukrainian Parliament Delegation Begins Talks *[ROMPRES]* 42
Canada Grants Loan To Back Reform *[ROMPRES]* 42
Croatian Envoy Stresses Romanian Mediating Role *[Bucharest Radio]* 42
Romanians Arrested for Drug Smuggling in Austria *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 8 Mar]* 43

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Muslims Reportedly Hold UN Troops in Konjevic Polje *[Belgrade TV]* 44
UN Officers 'Practically Hostage' *[TANJUG]* 44
Negotiations To Free Soldiers *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION 12 Mar]* 44
Convoy's Arrival Reported *[Sarajevo Radio]* 45
UN Convoy Departs Zvornik for Srebrenica, Konjevic Polje *[TANJUG]* 45
Serbs Delay Convoy *[Sarajevo Radio]* 45
Convoy Reaches Srebrenica *[AFP]* 46
UNHCR Denies Morillon Hostage *[TANJUG]* 46
Morillon Leaves Srebrenica *[TANJUG]* 46

U.S. Air Force Airdrops Aid to Srebrenica *[Hamburg DPA]* 46
Srebrenica 'Burning'; Authorities Seek Evacuation *[Sarajevo Radio]* 46
Government Sets 'Minimal Conditions' for Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* 47
No Decision By Presidency on Vance-Owen *[Zagreb Radio]* 48
EC Observer: Muslims Leaving Janje Voluntarily *[TANJUG]* 48
ICRC Proposes Simultaneous Exchange of Prisoners *[TANJUG]* 48
U.S. Reportedly Promises to Reconstruct Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 49
War Crimes Trial Opens in Sarajevo *[AFP]* 50
HOS Assassination Plot Reported *[London THE EUROPEAN 11-14 Mar]* 50
Croat-Muslim Forces Shell Nevesinje *[TANJUG]* 50
Several Casualties in Mostar Artillery Attacks *[Zagreb Radio]* 51
Heavy Fighting Reported Between Serbs, Muslims *[TANJUG]* 51
Lack of Coordination in Aid Distribution *[GLAS SRPSKI 9 Feb]* 51
Deputy Prime Minister on U.S. Bosnian Policy *[Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG 27 Feb]* 52
Ex-Prisoner on Atrocities by Muslims in Bosnia *[POLITIKA 18 Feb]* 53
Conflict in Bihac Muslim Leadership Reported *[GLAS SRPSKI 14 Feb]* 54

CROATIA

Serb Krajina President Links Talks to Withdrawal *[TANJUG]* 55
Skrabalo Returns From Benelux Tour, Makes Statement *[Zagreb Radio]* 55
Tudjman, Iran's Va'ezi View Muslim-Croat Conflict *[Tehran IRNA]* 55
Sarinic Letter Appeals for Financial Aid for Refugees *[Zagreb Radio]* 56
Rumors Circulate of Government Reshuffle *[Ljubljana Radio]* 57
'Secret' Slavonian Serb-Croat Agreement Alleged *[BORBA 8 Mar]* 57
UN Peacekeepers Denied 'Freedom of Movement' *[TANJUG]* 58
RSK Army Reports Croatian Artillery Attack on Obrovac *[TANJUG]* 58
RSK Prime Minister Zecevic on Dismissals *[POLITIKA 18 Feb]* 58
Serbian Refugee From Croatia on Loss of Homeland *[BORBA 17 Feb]* 59
Supreme Court President Interviewed *[DANAS 19 Feb]* 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Cosic Convinced Karadzic Cannot Sign Map *[Belgrade Radio]* 65
Cosic: Serbs Will 'Never Succumb' to 'Dictates' *[TANJUG]* 65
Sailors Threaten Another Blockade of Danube *[TANJUG]* 66
Foreign Vessels on Danube Proceeding Unhindered *[Belgrade Radio]* 66
Jovanovic Receives Greek Parliamentary Delegation *[TANJUG]* 66
Army Chief Says Aggression on FRY 'Hardly Possible' *[TANJUG]* 67
Government Proposes New State Symbols *[TANJUG]* 67
Government Says Mazowiecki Acting in 'Racist Way' *[TANJUG]* 67
Acute Shortages Experienced Ahead of Spring Sowing *[TANJUG]* 68
Czech Police, Media Reportedly Misusing Term 'Yugoslavs' *[TANJUG]* 68
North Korean Premier Sends Kontic Message *[TANJUG]* 69

Serbia

Milosevic Issues Statement on Paris Talks *[Belgrade TV]* 69
Serbia's 'Unequal' Position in New Federation Viewed *[VREME 22 Feb]* 69
Belgrade TV Said To Conceal News *[BORBA 22 Feb]* 71
Opposition's Lack of Organization, Leaders Assessed *[BORBA 20-21 Feb]* 72
Factory Plans for New Airfield, Aircraft *[BORBA 17 Feb]* 73

Kosovo

Arkan Reportedly Sets Up Office in Pristina *[THE EUROPEAN 11-14 Mar]* 74
Serbs Demand Albanian Employees Sign 'Loyalty Oath' *[KOSOVO DAILY REPORT 10 Mar]* 75
Serbs Clamp Down on Weapons in Villages *[KOSOVO DAILY REPORT 9 Mar]* 76

Vojvodina

Authority of Serbian Radicals in Novi Sad *[VREME 22 Feb]* 76

Documentary Examines UN Embargo Violations

AU1003204193 Hamburg ARD Television Network in German 2030 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Documentary by Martin Weiss and Arndt Wittenburg: "UN Embargo With Loopholes"]

[Text] A secret operation at night: Serbian Danube freighters with 45,000 tonnes of gasoline and diesel fuel break through the lines of customs and border police. Romanian and Bulgarian authorities are powerless. Despite the embargo and the presence of international customs officials, vital raw materials continue to reach Serbia.

Velebit, answer!, the official shouts. The crew do not give a damn. If they manage to get through, they will be heroes in Serbia.

[Begin Petur Mladenov recording, head of the Customs Office in the Bulgarian port of Lom, in Bulgarian with superimposed German translation] The United Nations demands that we stop the ships by force, but how should we do that? We would need speedboats, technical equipment, and border troops. [end recording]

Galati, the biggest Romanian Danube port. A routine control on the Ukrainian ship Arkhangelsk. The customs officials enter the ship's hold in front of our camera, but this does not help much. There is no infrared equipment to investigate the cargo. It would be easy to hide weapons here.

At first glance, everything seems to be okay on this ship. The checks of passports and freight papers are made inside—it is bitterly cold this morning. They speak Russian, which everyone in the former East Bloc states has learned.

The Arkhangelsk carries more than 1,000 tonnes of nitrate for the Bulgarian port of Lom. The ship goes to Bulgaria quite often. Shipments to Serbia's southern neighboring country have increased many times since the beginning of the embargo. The officials are not interested in what kind of cigarettes are being smoked on board—Serbian cigarettes.

Any ship that wants to go from the Black Sea to Serbia, Hungary, Austria, or Germany must pass through this port and subject itself to the first checks. Thus, this is a strategically important place. Therefore, last autumn CSCE decided to reinforce the local authorities with a troop of international customs officials. In Romania there are eight customs officials, headed by Americans.

In the Customs Office, we ask how many ships have already broken through. Twelve freighters over the past three months alone, we are told. The two customs officials are supposed to monitor the embargo without radio equipment, telefax, and copying machines. The telephone does not have an official line. The connection with headquarters is interrupted several times per day. At the moment we do not even have our own boat, the customs officials say.

Normally, they can hitch a ride with the border policemen, but their boat is being repaired right now. Therefore, there are no checks at the moment. They can only make telephone calls around the harbor.

A frequent destination of the ships that are checked here is the Bulgarian port of Lom. Coal, iron ore, and, above all, artificial fertilizer are transported in large amounts. We are taking note of the name Warszawa from Ukraine. Her destination is also Lom, her cargo is coal.

The Romanian customs officials have a difficult life. Because of the embargo, the traditionally good relations with Serbia have deteriorated considerably. If the sanctions are tightened, as U.S. President Clinton demands, many people here fear a military conflict. Let sleeping dogs lie!

The head of the Romanian customs authorities proudly shows us a medal of honor, which he received from the Americans for the strict observance of the sanctions, good cooperation with the international customs officials, and his people's efficient work. However, despite the medal, he does not hide the fact that little can be done if the ships do not stop.

[Begin Mihai Pauzarin recording, director general of the Romanian customs authorities, in Romanian with superimposed German translation] The captain of a Serbian gasoline freighter threatened that if we stop him by force, he would set his entire cargo on fire. This would have been a disaster, not only for the port of Galati, but the entire town. [end recording]

The problem is in Ukraine, where the Serbian ships are loaded. So far, the embargo has not been observed there. Now a troop of international customs officials are supposed to keep a close watch on the Ukrainians.

We are traveling up the Danube to the Bulgarian port of Lom and Turnu-Severin at the Iron Gates. The Romanian water gate is a bottleneck for all freighters on their way to Belgrade.

However, first to Lom. Since the beginning of the embargo, ship's traffic increased many times. Most of the time coal is unloaded here. It is intended for use in Bulgaria or for transit to Macedonia. However, the port's capacity is small, far too small for unloading all ships, which, according to the freight papers, are anchoring at the northern Bulgarian port.

The Warszawa, too, allegedly carried coal for Lom.

[Begin Petur Mladenov recording] The Warszawa did not stop here; it kept going. This was only a trading maneuver in Galati, as many ships do. [end recording]

This is only one trick to violate the embargo.

The Arkhangelsk, which is just being unloaded here, does not carry goods for Bulgaria. The more than 1,000 tonnes of nitrate are destined to the Macedonian market, at least this is what the freight papers say. For months the export of chemical substances, such as phosphate or

nitrate of ammonium, to Macedonia has increased considerably. However, these substances can be used not only as artificial fertilizer, but for the production of explosives. The sacks are loaded onto railroad cars. The suspicion grows that part of the shipment will disappear in Serbia, in particular since the only railroad line to Macedonia goes through Serbian territory.

The Iron Gates at Turnu-Severin: All ships, which pass by Lom and move in the direction of Belgrade, must go through the Romanian water gate. Next year the Serbs will no longer have to have a pass, their own gate will be completed by then—built by Romanian companies. We are surprised to hear that the United Nations has approved the project. Serbs and Romanians are also jointly operating the power plant in the middle of the river.

A push tug from Slovakia with six barges full of iron ore arrives. At minus 20 degrees, work is not easy for customs officials and border policemen. A short look at the cargo and then the papers of the ship Fatra are checked. It carries 6,000 tonnes of iron ore for a trading company in Fuerstenfeld, Austria. The buyer is a steel mill of VOeST-Alpine in Linz. As we learn later, only 1,000 tonnes arrived in Linz. The other barges are allegedly in Slovakia.

Prahovo is the only loophole for Serbian ships that are turned back at the Iron Gates. The Orasac, Bihac, Kumanovo, and all the other ships have anchored here. They are slowly unloading their cargo because the tanks in the small port are not suited for such large amounts. However, the Serbs have adjusted to the embargo. Tankers pick up the fuel and transport it further in an expensive and cumbersome way—the most important thing is that the supply works.

We go on; first to Bregovo in northwestern Bulgaria, then to Kalotina and Dragoman, the main border checkpoints to Serbia for road and railroads. In Bregovo, the traffic abates only in the evening. Mostly there are Serbs who use cross-border traffic for smuggling. As soon as we turn up with our camera, customs officials are making particular efforts. They do not have to search long because almost everyone who crosses the border here has hidden bottles or canisters full of gasoline. The smugglers need not be afraid. If they are caught, they simply have to turn around. Later on, when the very thorough checks are over, they will try again.

When a person leaves the country, he may only have 10 liters of fuel in his tank. This is measured with a willow stick. Many people cross the border several times a day. The customs official hardly knows where to put his stamp in the full passports. However, these are only small fry.

At Sofia airport, planes from overseas land every day. They carry expensive computers and electronic equipment. Their destination is Belgrade. For profiteers, it is easy to get the hot goods across the border. A loophole in the text of the UN resolution makes this possible. Computers, which are picked up here, are still permitted to pass the borders to Serbia as transit goods. Cooking pots and buckets, on the other hand, are not allowed because they are made of metal.

The authorities are cheated with forged papers. A set of documents that German customs officials found during monitoring the embargo shows how the trick works. The driver carried two filled-in bills and a blank form for emergencies. The first bill showed the name of a customer in Skopje and the second bill showed the address of the actual recipient—a company in Belgrade.

Kalotina, 70 km to the west of Sofia. The Bulgarian customs officials do not check the trucks very thoroughly. Only a few trucks are completely checked. A bit aside, there are two suspicious trucks with brand-new license plates from Banja Luka, which is controlled by the Serbs. A look at the papers shows that the drivers do not come from Bosnia, but rather Belgrade. Only one case of many, the international customs official say, but what should we do. We cannot stop the trucks because, officially, the nitrate goes to Bosnia.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Here in Kalotina at the Bulgarian-Serbian border, every day there are many trucks with papers that are not in order. What is wrong with these freight papers, for instance?

[Hans-Joachim Durst, international customs official] I have here a typical case of a suspicious shipment. This is a shipment of artificial fertilizer, which, according to the customs papers, is supposed to go from Bulgaria to Macedonia. However, if I look at the freight papers, which are stapled to the customs papers, this shipment goes to Croatia, to Zagreb. If I leaf through the other papers, including the bill, I see that these three shipments, which are all together put on these customs papers, are transported by Serbian trucks. Thus, there is the suspicion that these shipments are not going to Macedonia as planned, which would still have to be clarified, but will end up in Serbia. [end recording]

The border railroad station of Dragoman: Every day, endless freight trains start out toward Serbia from here. Their destination is Macedonia. This is the only railroad line that links Bulgaria with Macedonia, but it winds through Serbian territory. Every day cars with goods for Bosnia are hitched to the trains, even though large parts of Bosnia have long been occupied by Serbia.

[Begin recording] [Horst Koehler, head of international customs officials in Bulgaria] If one were to apply the regulations for sanctions to these goods, this would practically mean a recognition of the Serbian occupation of these territories. Therefore, it is a problem of international law. In my view, this is one of the big holes in these sanctions. This applies to Bosnia, as well as Croatia. There we have large areas, which are occupied by Serbs, and we see enormous amounts of shipments to these areas, which do not fall under the sanctions. This is an enormous hole, in my view.

[Unidentified reporter] Here from Bulgaria, a lot of goods are officially sent to Macedonia via Serbia. This includes computers, mineral substances of any kind, and oil. Do you really think that all these goods arrive in Macedonia or Albania?

[Koehler] There are certainly different reasons for these transports. If one looks at the map and if one knows that Greece has largely closed its border to Macedonia, a large part of these transports is probably destined to Macedonia. On the other hand, you mentioned high-technology goods, such as computers, which are also delivered to Albania. These must be countries with enormous economic growth rates. We note a multiplication of traffic, both on the roads and here on the railroads. Thousands of tonnes of manganese ore and chrome ore allegedly go to Albania and Skopje in Macedonia. We are currently investigating these matters, but we are sure that there is still a big loophole to go to Serbia and Montenegro. [end recording]

The international customs officials are fighting a lost battle. They have to look on while large-scale smuggling is taking place. They can only take note of the damage and report it to the Brussels headquarters.

A freight train with more than 1,000 tonnes of iron ore is rolling toward Macedonia. The freight papers list the recipient as a trading company in the Macedonian capital of Skopje, the import-export company Hemimpex. Like all freight transport, this train has to cross the Serbian junction of Nis. We assume that part of the cars are unhitched there. We are not permitted to film.

We are going to Macedonia. Skopje—the bridge between orient and occident. Christians and Muslims are still struggling for the international recognition of their country. The embargo hits Macedonia very hard. In the past, the country had more than two-thirds of its foreign trade with Serbia. The sanctions are driving us into poverty even more, many Macedonians say. We all have friends and relatives over there in Serbia, and now they are supposed to be our enemies.

Only as a result of international pressure did Macedonia accept the UN embargo. However, secret business with the Serbian brothers continues. Since the embargo came into effect, many Macedonians have established small import-export companies. Often, these are companies that continue to make prohibited deals with the Serbs.

At the Trade Ministry, we ask about the Hemimpex company, which has ordered more than 1,000 tonnes of iron ore from Bulgaria.

[Begin Dimitar Belcev recording, state secretary for foreign trade, in English with superimposed German translation] Let me take a look at the company registry to see whether this company exists. If this company exists in Macedonia, it is in here. Hemimpex—I am sorry, I cannot find this company. [end recording]

After some days we find the company. Hemimpex had ordered more than 20,000 tonnes of iron ore—the value: about $500,000. Is Hemimpex also part of an international network of companies that is controlled by the Serbs. It seems so. The interim agent is a company in Sofia. The deliverer in the background is a Serb with a seat in South Africa.

We enter the office with a hidden camera and ask for Director (Avramovski). We are told that the boss has gone away for a week. The deputy head claims that she has never heard anything about orders for iron ore. Asked what the company is trading with, we receive the curt answer: with foodstuffs. Then we are asked to leave. The woman behind the desk refuses to give any further information.

One day later we visit the Customs Office. The head of the Skopje Customs Office is investigating the matter. When he makes a telephone call to Hemimpex, he speaks to Director (Avramovski) himself. The two are on familiar terms. They obviously know each other.

[Begin Blagoje Stanoevski recording, head of Skopje Customs Office, in Macedonian with superimposed German translation] We have checked the matter and we must say that the iron ore has not arrived in Skopje. I have just talked to a representative of Hemimpex. He says that he neither knows the Bulgarian company, which sent the ore, nor has ever had any business with it. [end recording]

We find the (Agrovardar) company. The freighter Arkhangelsk, which we met in Galati and Lom, was commissioned by this company. Ah, the 1,000 tonnes of phosphate were delivered to the fertilizer company in Titov Veles, the secretary says evasively. When we later check this information, we learn that the fertilizer company has never ordered anything from (Agrovardar).

These are UN armored personnel carriers at Tabanovce, the biggest border checkpoint with Serbia. We are permitted to film here only after a specific appointment was made beforehand. The Macedonian customs officials have been warned. In front of the rolling camera, they check the trucks in a particularly thorough way. Half a dozen embargo breakers are turned away. Under the eyes of the Canadian officials, who are monitoring the blockade here, one cannot afford any lax checks.

Further back, a chemical truck with a Bosnian license plate suddenly leaves the line. It has made the round that journalists and international customs officials are here. The driver knows that because of the strict checks, he does not stand a chance of passing the border. While he is turning around, one of the Macedonian customs officials shouts after him: Wait until it is evening, until the journalists and watchers are gone. Then you can come again.

A driver says about the trade embargo:

[Begin unidentified driver recording, in Bulgarian with superimposed German translation] Oh, the embargo is completely pointless. If I want to, I take the cargo and carry it across the border on my own shoulders. [end recording]

As soon as it gets dark in Tabanovce and the international customs officials finish their work, the time of the smugglers has come.

What should we do, a customs officials asks angrily. There are three of us working in 12-hour shifts. We simply cannot search every truck.

Every night trucks with unchecked cargo roll into Serbia. The UN blue helmets must look on, although they are not permitted to interfere.

We leave Macedonia and fly to Hungary. Secret information about a big hole in the embargo brings us to the area of Szeged. The trace leads to Algyo. The state oil and gas refinery provided Serbia with natural gas for years, until the implementation of the embargo. However, more than 50 million cubic meters of natural gas still go to Serbia every month. Russian gas, as we learn later, that is pumped through the old CEMA pipeline with the meaningful name brotherhood.

What astonishes us most is the fact that the delivery is allegedly destined to embattled Sarajevo, where people have been freezing for months because of a lack of energy.

Lajos Antal, vice president of the Hungarian gas industry, tells us that the delivery is completely legal. The UN Security Council has given special permission.

[Begin Antal recording, in Hungarian with superimposed German translation] Since 4 June 1992, we have not delivered any gas to Serbia. We have not completely turned off the gas pipe because these are transit deliveries for Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

We make inquiries at the Serbian gas company Naftagas. It is responsible for the correct transit through Serbia.

[Begin Milan Mladenovic recording, vice president of the Serbian gas industry, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] More than 60,000 cubic meters natural gas per hour flow through Serbia, depending on the oscillating consumption in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We do not know who the customers are because we do not have any direct contacts. We can only note indirectly what they use—through our measurements. [end recording]

The official statement is almost cynical because the Serbs have long occupied all gas supply stations between Hungary and Sarajevo. Hardly anything of the agreed amount reaches this town. More than 40 million cubic meters of gas are disappearing in the Serbian- occupied areas every month.

The United Nations has known about this for months. The people in Belgrade do not learn anything about that. They only learn what the propaganda apparatus permits. The press does not report on the large-scale smuggling. It also remains hidden to us—for instance, the reported smuggling of arms between Russia and Serbia, worth more than 500 million German marks. The old comradeship-in-arms still seems to work.

No matter whether it is gas for tank factories or gasoline for gasoline stations, raw material supplies to Serbia work smoothly. The trade embargo, with which the United Nations wanted to break Serbia's will for war, has proved to be a farce so far. Gasoline is the most valuable form of energy at the moment. Everywhere on the black markets the Serbs are selling gasoline, which has been smuggled into the country from the neighboring countries.

The blockade ring, which the United Nations has laid around the FRY, is as watertight as a sieve. Business flourishes—on a large and on a small scale.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Where does the gasoline come from?

[Unidentified young Serb, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] From (?Calarasi) in Romania.

[Reporter] Is the sale worth the trouble?

[Serb] Yes, it is okay.

[Reporter] How much do you buy per day?

[Serb] About 50 liters.

[Reporter] Will there be further deliveries in the future?

[Serb] Certainly.

[Reporter] What do the Romanians say?

[Serb] They just want to earn money.

[Reporter] Do the Romanians promise further deliveries?

[Serb] Yes, certainly. [end recording]

The latest hit of a private Belgrade radio station is the radio stock exchange: Embargo goods are in particular demand.

[Begin unidentified radio announcer recording, in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed German translation] Hello, here is Studio B. Let us see what we can offer today, what the Belgrade market offers. Today we cannot satisfy the great demand of the past few weeks for diesel, but we have kerosene—the price per liter is 1.10 marks; either 20-liter canisters or 200-liter barrels. The minimum amount sold is 100 liters. [end recording]

What is constantly on the hit list are new and old military marches.

Romania Issues Statement on FRY Barges on Danube

LD1103204093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1839 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—The Romanian Ministry of Transport stated this evening that a Yugoslav convoy consisting of two tug boats and two barges loaded with 4,300 tonnes of corn is expected around 2100 this evening in the Romanian port of Giurgiu on the Danube, 60 kms south of Bucharest.

Romanian border authorities and a joint mission of the EC and CSCE monitors on the territory of Romania, who have been controlling the application of UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, are following the passage of a smaller Yugoslav convoy, which is sailing downstream in the Romanian-Bulgarian part of the Danube.

The Ministry also states that "usual measures will be applied" to possibly stop the convoy because of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia. These will be the same measures as those used in a similar situation a month ago.

In order to stop that convoy, consisting of five Yugoslav tug boats and around 40 barges which were sailing upstream on the Danube from Ukraine heading toward Yugoslavia, the Romanian authorities used, as stated, "all permitted means envisaged by the UN Security Council resolutions on sanctions against Yugoslavia."

That means that light and sound signals were used, and radio contact was attempted with captains of the boats, while the convoy was constantly overflown by helicopters of the Romanian border units.

Official Bucharest, particularly the Army, decisively rejects criticism coming from the West, particularly Washington, over the fact that force was not used to stop the Yugoslav convoy. The main Romanian argument is that the use of force is not envisaged by the UN resolutions.

Serbs Criticize U.S. Report on Human Rights Abuses

LD1203113693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1118 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Report by Vjekoslav Radovic]

[Text] New York, March 12 (TANJUG)—In the U.S. State Department's latest—sixth—report on the violation of human rights in the former Yugoslavia, submitted to the Security Council, crimes against Serbs are not even mentioned and the cases which have already been proved are placed under suspicion.

Looking through the distorted lense of the Washington Capitol Hill and State Department hawks, Serbs are the only culprits for all war atrocities and crimes perpetrated in Bosnia-Hercegovina, while Moslems and Croats are not murdering their enemies in this war.

The U.S. Administration's report, made public on Tuesday [9 March] by spokesman Richard Boucher, has been circulating the U.N. as an official document since Wednesday.

In its 26-page document, the State Department mentions many cases of murder, rape and 'ethnic cleansing', and attributes all of them, without reserve or doubt, to Serbs. The names of eyewitnesses or victims are seldom mentioned. The witnesses are usually reported as a Moslem, or a Moslem woman from the such and such village in Bosnia who says so and so. There are no testimonies of Bosnian Serbs, not even with their names.

The proved Moslem and Croat attacks and murders of United Nations Peacekeeping Force (UNPROFOR) members are not identified by the State Department.

According to the U.S. Administration, unidentified forces have shelled a U.N. convoy outside Mostar, western Hercegovina.

Western Hercegovina is under the control of Croatia's Army.

In the same vein, the State Department says that one French UNPROFOR soldier was killed and three wounded in the shelling of the Sarajevo airport. According to the State Department, the shells seem to have come out of the blue, not from the Moslem positions.

It will be interesting to see how the U.S. European allies, whose men are being killed in Bosnia, will receive this.

In its Machiavellian enthusiasm to lay charge on the Serbs, the State Department underestimates the intelligence of its allies who know the truth. Only one crime against Serbs is mentioned in the document, in the following way: Bosnian Serbs showed the Belgrade-based foreign journalists 35 bodies exhumed so far from a mass grave discovered the previous day in Kamenica, eastern Bosnia.... Serbs have found two more mass graves, including one in a frozen lake, with 16 more bodies.

The State Department's conclusion: At the time of writing this report, it is not clear that the grave contains proof about crimes.

If this is U.S.'s contribution to the history of crimes in the former Yugoslavia, then nothing will come out of the recent promise by U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright that the "truth will win", unless someone in the world dares to face the U.S. truth with the actual truth concerning crimes in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The best reply to the U.S. attitude may have been an article by Dimitri Simes, associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, published by the NEW YORK TIMES.

"In making choices about Bosnia, Mr. Clinton must remember that arrogance of power, coupled with false moralism and lack of strategic rationale, is a prescription for disaster," Simes said.

Berisha Addresses Assembly on Human Rights

AU1103210993 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Upon his legislative initiative, President Sali Berisha sent the bill on basic human rights and freedoms, which will be added as a separate chapter to the existing law, to the People's Assembly for approval yesterday.

In a message sent to the People's Assembly, President Berisha stressed that he undertook this legislative initiative for several reasons:

First, I think that it is the right and legitimate wish of all Albanians who suffered under dictatorship to have their basic rights and freedoms, which they fought for, guaranteed in the same way as all citizens of civilized European countries. These freedoms and rights are proposed in international agreements and documents that have been signed by our country as well.

Second, the absence of a law on human rights is a great and unjustifiable void for the Albanian democratic state and society. The development of democracy in Albania and the course of reform necessitate the need to assume new legal dimensions and fully guarantee the freedoms and rights of the individual. The delay in this direction is unjustifiable because without guaranteeing the freedom of speech, beliefs, initiative, the judicial procedural warranties, the right to privcy, and many other rights, the foundations of the society we are building will be fragile.

Third, there is no doubt that in the legislation of every democratic state, human rights and freedoms remain its fundamental dimension, which constitutes the main pillar of a law-governed state. Thus, without this, the functioning of the law-governed state of Albania is becoming difficult.

Berisha later stressed that this bill is considerably based on the UN Human Rights universal statement, the Helsinki Final Act, the Copenhagen and Paris Charter, the European Convention on Protecting Human Rights and Basic Freedoms, and the U.S. Convention on Human Rights. At the same time, the relevant chapters of the constitutions of a series of democratic countries have been exploited for this reason. Of course, the content of several provisions of this bill takes into consideration the specific historic conditions in which Albania is building its democratic order. Thus, different from what is required in many important documents, the death penalty is still in force in this bill. For known reasons, this bill does not define the state's obligation to guarantee all citizens the right to employment. However, on the basis of Article 1 of the European Social Charter effective 26 February 1965, the following definition has been accepted: Everyone has the right to earn the means of his living through legal work that he himself has chosen or accepted. He is free to chose his profession, place of employment, and the system of his qualifications.

A group of Albanian and foreign specialists worked on drafting this bill. They have sent the bill that you now have in hand to the Democracy Through Law Council of the Europe Commission in Venice for consultation. The suggestions and remarks by this commission have been reflected in the bill. In this bill, the civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, as well as basic freedoms have been defined, grouped, and systematized in full conformity with European judicial standards.

Concluding his message, President Berisha expressed his conviction that while discussing this bill, every deputy will have to find the most major legal dimension of the rights and freedoms of Albanian citizens. The approval of this law by the People's Assembly does not at all hinder the Constitution Commission of treating this chapter like all other chapters of the future constitution.

Former Owners Hold Rally, Demand Properties

AU1103185693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Arben Karapici report]

[Text] Our association is aware of... [shouts heard] We want our property, we want our property, we want our property....

To cries of we want our property, and without the return of property there will be no foreign investment in Albania, more than 3,000 legitimate owners gathered this morning in the square in front of parliament. Organized by the Property With Justice National Association, the peaceful rally included many representatives from those political parties that support the full return of property and from various associations and organizations all over the country. The speakers stressed that the solution of the property problem would give a decisive impetus to economic reform, opening the way to new investment in our country. The meeting stressed that the attitudes and reactions of the people, associations, and political parties for the sanctity and inviolability of property should address parliament in the right way so as properly to solve the property question. The rally stressed that the level of justice in solving this problem will indicate the level of democracy in Albania.

Mr. Rrapo Danushi, chairman of the Property With Justice National Association, called upon parliamentarians not to be afraid of what he called threats with destructive aims. He said that parliament should approve the law on returning property as soon as possible. Mr. Danushi considered the return of property to legitimate owners as a national question to the interest of the whole Albanian people at home and abroad. The former owners are not destructive. Those political forces that hinder the fair solution to the problem are destructive and destabilizing, the leader of the Property With Justice National Association stressed. He rejected the view that says that the association defends the interests of the rich.

[Begin recording] [Danushi] No, this association defends all ex-proprietors, starting from the peasant who has left two olive trees and two acres of land and to whom the Law on Land No. 7501, dated 19 July 1991, does not return it. This association requires the return of property to all legitimate owners in Albania who had it expropriated.

[Karapici] Do you think that parliament will respond to the association's demands?

[Danushi] We hope that parliament will respond to our association's demands. If it does not, in our opinion parliament is making a serious mistake, a mistake that would weigh heavily on the Albanian people. [shouts heard: We want our property, we want our property.] [end recording]

[Karapici] The rally lasted two hours and was briefly attended by dozens of members of parliament, who were out in the square during a break. Unlike previous occasions, when rallies of this kind were reported by no more than two journalists, at today's rally there were dozens of them, even some from foreign newspapers and radio and television stations that are currently in our country.

Government Members Meet Trade Union Leaders

AU1103145493 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—On March 10 morning, Premier Aleksander Meksi; Mr. Vejsiu, minister of education; Mr. Shehi, minister of emigration, social assistance, and political persecuted; Mr. Manushi, minister of construction, housing, and adjustment of territory; Mr. Ruli, minister of finances; the deputy ministers of industry, mining resources, and energy, the public order, health; met at the seat of prime minister's office with representatives of the Steering Council of the Albanian Trade Unions headed by Mr. Kastriot Muco.

Mr. Muco forwarded the requests of the trade unionists such as the ways to come out of the economic collapse, the future program of the government in regard to assistance, social budget for the qualification and requalification of working people, the reviewing of the working laws and those related to the trade unions and some other troubles. Mr. Muco also concentrated on the request to increase emigration.

In his address Mr. Meksi said among the other things that the democratic government together with the international financial institutions is working on a three-year plan. The basic goal on the plan is to limit the bounds of inflation and develop important branches of economy. This will accelerate the process of overcoming the backwardness. This plan which may be over in 2-3 months time, will be declared immediately. In regard to the laws of work, Mr. Meksi explained that foreign specialists will come in Albania soon. In cooperation with the members of the Albanian Government and parliamentarians, they will work on the working laws. The government plans to involve in these groups trade unionists.

In regard to emigration, Mr. Shehi said that this problem is rather difficult because 11 percent of population in the EEC member countries is unemployed. The government will continue its attempts for an organized emigration and improve the conditions of the Albanian emigrants.

Union Leaders Oppose Government Resignation

AU1103145593 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 11 Mar 93

["Trade Unions: Resignation of the Government Runs Counter to the Workers' Interests"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 11 (ATA)—What is the position of independent trade unions, members of the Trade Unionist Union (with more than 170 thousand members) in regard to the current political situation in Albania?

Gezim Kalaja, president of Miners, Geologists, and Upgraders Independent Trade Unions: The present economic shortcomings are an outcome of the communist past and cannot be corrected in a short period of time. The resignation of Meksi administration and anticipated elections means for us unlimited postponement for the solution of our troubles. It means withdrawal of foreign investors, it means lack of perspective. We consider antinational the request of the Socialist Party for resignation and it runs counter to the workers' interests.

Minella Kureta, president of the Independent Public Service Trade Unions, declared: We ask the government to increase the funds for health and public service, to intensify the fight against corruption, and remove from the state power structures the unskilled and compromised.

Bilbil Kasmi, president of Flour-Bread Independent Trade Unions, said: Our workers need work and tranquillity. The request for the resignation of the government is to the detriment of our interests. We will utilize the democratic means to fulfill our requirements.

Gezim Maranaj, president of Sea Ports Independent Trade Unions: Our trade unions will not be used as an instrument to launch political strikes. The government must think of increasing investments in our sea ports.

Pali Xhori, president of the Workers Trade Unions of Textile Combine: We support the Meksi administration, because it is time to work and not to launch strikes.

Hysni Bardhi, coordinator of the Trade Unionist Union, declared: In my opinion the government and political parties should strengthen the dialogue with the present genuine trade unions and not with formal trade unions structures. The request for resignation and elections leads to the destabilization of the country.

These trade unions gave a negative reply to the question in regard to the current populist movement in Albania.

Juvenile Girls Sold to Macedonia for Profits

AU1003184793 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 25 Feb 93 p 1

[Report by Edmond Tufina: "Albanian Juvenile Girls Are Being Sold in Macedonia"]

[Text] The price varies from 400-4,000 German marks. Managers are illegal. Albanian managers are the most skillful. These medieval managers of the modern times, illegally stationed in Diber, are carrying out the shameful and tragic trade of selling Albanian juvenile girls, who eventually end up in improvised public houses in Tetove and Gostivar, for large profits. This trade is so evident that the Macedonian press is devoting special articles to it. Meanwhile, law and order institutions in Diber remain silent. The relevant bodies in Macedonia have also not arrested any managers from the Macedonian side. The skilled managers are presently trying to exploit the dignity ruined by dictatorship and extreme poverty to ensure gross profits from a trade that is not at all human, but dirty and antihuman. The law should replace the ruined dignity, only the law!

Arbnori Promises 'Reparation' for Victims of Regime

AU1203143593 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 12 (ATA)—Pjeter Arbnori, speaker of the Albanian Parliament, met the working group of the strike launched by the former political prisoners.

The meeting was held in the spirit of dialogue and understanding and treated many problems raised in the petition addressed to the parliament, the president, and government some days ago.

Mr. Arbnori pointed to the work and attempts of the democratic government in such a short period of time to carry out the reforms, to establish order and the achievements of the foreign policy. Appreciating the requests and troubles of this group, he said that the work to fulfill their demands has not yet finished. In order to improve the difficult conditions for the former political prisoners and persecuted and to compensate their wealth, the funds allocated in the state budget for 1993 have considerably increased. All the former prisoners having the testimony issued by the court, enjoy the right of getting reparation, said Mr. Arbnori. Apart from this, the state budget of the year 1993 plans the necessary funds for granting pensions to the former political prisoners and families of the political victims executed with or without being tried and for granting pensions to these persons since the time when they were entitled the right of pension.

Reparation will also be paid step by step to different political prisoners for the imprisonment period of time. The most part of the sons and daughters of political prisoners were admitted to higher schools without competition and they account for about 50 percent of students who started lessons during 1992-1993 school year.

Mr. Arbnori said that the status of political prisoners is under way. This status makes the difference between those imprisoned on political grounds and those who have been imprisoned for stealing in large amounts or robbing and those who with sham testimony try to be treated as former political prisoners.

Greek Prime Minister Arrives for Visit

AU1103142493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] A few moments ago Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis arrived in Bulgaria. After an official ceremony, the prime ministers of Greece and Bulgaria made statements to Sofia Radio correspondent Kalina Stancheva.

[begin recording] [Stancheva] Mr. Mitsotakis, welcome to Bulgaria. I represent Khorizont Radio. What were the first words you exchanged with our prime minister upon your arrival?

[Mitsotakis] [in Greek with superimposed translation in Bulgarian] I would like to say that I am happy to visit your country. I am accompanied by ministers, deputies, journalists, and businessmen. I hope that we will give an impetus to all issues and further Bulgarian-Greek relations in all areas.

[Stancheva] Mr. Berov, with what words did you greet your Greek colleague?

[Berov] I greeted him in the same spirit as [words indistinct]. As you see, we are both in a very good mood, and I hope that this will positively influence our talks.

[Stancheva] What subjects will you discuss?

[Berov] Naturally, first of all we will discuss our common positions on the Balkans and our views on some delicate and difficult issues related to preserving peace and stability in the Balkans. Of course, we will also discuss certain specific issues of mutual economic relations. For example, the use of the Mesta River water, mutual protection of investment, the eventual opening of new border checkpoints, and so forth.

Naturally, the group of businessmen which is accompanying Mr. Mitsotakis will have personal meetings. We will have all the conditions for fruitful work on anything related to developing our foreign trade. [end recording]

Meets With President Zhelev

AU1103185393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Statements by President Zhelyu Zhelev and Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to reporters after their meeting on 11 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis arrived for a two-day official visit. He is scheduled to meet President Zhelyu Zhelev, to hold official talks with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and to meet National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov and the three parliamentary groups.

It is my hope that we resolve all problems of common interest and to promote bilateral relations, Mitsotakis said upon arrival at Sofia Airport. We shall exchange our views on some crucial problems for preserving peace and security in the Balkans and on some specific topics, Berov stressed. Later the Greek prime minister laid a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's monument.

The first official meeting Mitsotakis held today was with President Zhelev. After their meeting, which lasted about one hour, the two leaders made the following statements to the nearly 70 Bulgarian and Greek journalists who are covering the visit.

Zhelev and Mitsotakis expressed their common view that our recent bilateral relations are not at the high level of the past, and both are convinced that the clarification of some questions would give a new impulse to the relations.

[Begin recording] [Zhelev] We agreed that our different views on the question of the Republic of Macedonia should by no means divide us and should not obstruct the development of our bilateral relations. This problem should not be at the center of our relations. In Bulgarian-Greek relations, this is a relatively peripheral problem.

[Mitsotakis] [in Greek with passage-by-passage Bulgarian translation] I would like to express my pleasure at visiting Bulgaria and at the talk I had with Mr. Zhelev. This was a sincere dialogue which extended to a wide range of questions. The truth is that we both agreed to make a new beginning with our relations, to give them a new impetus.

We established that our relations are not at the level at which they should be, not as they were at the very beginning. Naturally, our relations are political, cultural, and cover all areas of life.

We discussed the situation in the Balkans. We agreed that there should be cooperation on the Balkan peninsula. We agreed with Mr. Zhelev that the problems of the former Yugoslavia should be resolved peacefully. [end recording].

Attends Official Dinner

AU1203085793 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prime Minister Lyuben Berov gave an official dinner in honor of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis at the Boyana Residence tonight.

In the toasts exchanged, the two government leaders confirmed their sincere wish to strengthen good neighborly relations and cooperation between the two countries on the basis of common interests.

The historical experience and the current realities in Europe and the world justify our negative attitude to all kinds of axes and (?supraregional) secret agreements likely to provoke the suspicions of one or another of our neighbors. He expressed the wish that the solution to

emerging problems should proceed through a dialogue based on an equal rights dialogue and on sensible compromise.

The Greek prime minister, in his toast, especially pointed out our peoples' responsibilities in connection with the Yugoslav crisis. If the United Nations should consider military interference necessary, the Balkan countries should not participate in such actions, because the crisis should be resolved by peaceful means.

In connection with Bulgaria's association with the EC, the Greek prime minister sincerely welcomed the neighbor country Bulgaria among the European family, stressing that this act imposes specific responsibilities which also apply to bilateral relations.

He added, in particular, that certain differences of opinions between the two countries, such as those regarding the question of Skopje, for example, are likely to cast a shadow over our bilateral relations, or to affect them.

Holds Talks With Berov

AU1203120093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Kalina Stancheva report]

[Text] The prime ministers of Bulgaria and Greece held a one-hour meeting this morning after which the official talks took place.

On the occasion of the official talks Mr. Lyuben Berov confirmed the readiness of the Bulgarian side to examine all new proposals and initiatives submitted by the Greek side and to provide additional assurances of our country's sincerity and good will, while on our side, we simply expect Greece to respond with confidence.

Both sides expressed satisfaction about the positive contacts between the two ministries of defense, pointing out that the military, being more discipline people, are working at agreater speed and politicians should not lag behind.

The government delegations of Bulgaria and Greece insisted on speeding up the agreement on settling the free movement of manpower and on the mutual opening of cultural centers, as well as on renewing the three-border checkpoints. They also decided to promptly start work on updating the transportation agreement of 1964.

Mr. Mitsotakis with evident pleasure described himself as a "fanatical" supporter of friendship with Bulgaria. Since Bulgaria's association with the EC has been implemented, the prerequisites for our bilateral relations have become more extensive and more binding, he thinks, explaining that excellent conditions exist for joint economic projects which should be financed by the EC, such as a the construction of a highway between a Danubian port and a Greek port.

The Bulgarian prime minister raised the question of permanent visas for Bulgarian businessmen, to which the Greek prime minister responded: Of course, no visa problems whatsoever should exist any more.

According to Mr. Mitsotakis' firm conviction, which he declared at the official talks, the southeastern Balkan area should become a united economic region with open borders for the free circulation of people, fianancial resources, and everything else. Hence, we should accelerate cooperation so that we may achieve diplomatic consultations among all the Balkan peoples, the Greek prime minister said. The great powers have always had their ulterior motives, therefore we, namely all the Balkan peoples, should hold our destinies in our own hands.

This is what Mr. Mitsotakis stated, and the Bulgarian prime minister immediately indicated that he shared this view.

Following the offiical talks, the Greek delegation came to the National Assembly where it held its first meeting with the chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament.

A few minutes ago Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov [National Assembly Chairman] stated that the talks had been conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding on all basic, topical Balkan issues and on the development of our bilateral relations.

One of Mr. Yordanov's views expressed during his statement about the meeting was the confirmation that Bulgaria shall never participate in Balkan axes or blocs.

At this moment the Greek prime minister and the Greek members of parliament accompanying him are meeting with deputies from the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

Zhelev Receives Turkish Defense Minister Ayaz

AU1103171693 Sofia BTA in English 1534 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Defence Minister, Mr. Valentin Aleksandrov, and the Turkish Minister of National Defence, Mr. Nevzat Ayaz, who arrived on a three-day official visit here, today signed a five-year intergovernmental agreement on cooperation in military science and technology. [passage omitted]

Later today, Mr. Ayaz was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev. Presidential Spokesman Valentin Stoyanov announced after the meeting that the sides confirmed their known positions on the crisis in former Yugoslavia. President Zhelev expressed satisfaction with the intensive contacts between the Ministries of Defence of Bulgaria and Turkey and stressed their cooperation was not directed against any third country and is open for any party which may wish to promote such relations. I stressed before President Zhelev our wish that relations between Bulgaria and Turkey serve as a model to other states, Mr. Ayaz said after the meeting. He stressed

Turkey was pleased with the development of contacts so far and with the specific actions to redeploy troops from the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

Aleksandrov Describes Visit

AU1203115193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] At a news conference, Minister of Defense Valentin Aleksandrov described the visit of the Turkish Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz, which is ending today, as a new step forward in the positive development of relations between the Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Turkey.

The military contacts between the two countries are among those which are developing in the most positive manner and military security is a guarantee for security as a whole, Minister Aleksandrov stated in summarizing the talks.

Turkish Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz expressed his pleasant surprise about the state of our military industry. The democratic changes in Bulgaria are contributing in a positive manner to relations between the two countries, the Turkish guest pointed out.

Karabashev Signs Economic Protocol With Ukraine

AU1103171493 Sofia BTA in English 1551 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev and Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Yuliy Ioffe signed a protocol on bilateral trade and economic cooperation in 1993.

This document is an integral part of the agreement on trade and economic cooperation and payments signed by the two countries last October. It specifies the commodity lists of Bulgaria's export to Ukraine and of Ukraine's export to Bulgaria. According to these lists, in 1993 Bulgaria will import from Ukraine 2,000 million kwh of electricity, 2.5 million tonnes of coal, rolled ferrous metals, machines, chemical products, automobiles, combines, etc and export to Ukraine 100,000 tonnes of petrol and diesel fuel, cables, various types of machine oil and other oil products, 300,000 tonnes of ammonia ash, accumulators, batteries, medicines, etc.

The indicative lists of the commercial exchange between Bulgaria and Ukraine are not of a mandatory nature but provide greater guarantees to Bulgarian importers and exporters that the agreed quantities will be realized, Mr. Karabashev said. The protocol also includes a clause regulating the payment of centralized deliveries. Under this clause, the funds which the Ukrainian side will receive for export to Bulgaria will be fully or partially used for the export of Bulgarian goods to Ukraine, Mr. Karabashev said. He explained that these funds will be transmitted to the Bank for Agricultural Credit chosen by the government.

The deputy prime ministers also signed today an agreement on the setting up of an Intergovernmental Commission on Economic Cooperation between Bulgaria and Ukraine.

Later today the Ukrainian delegation led by Deputy Prime Minister Yulij Ioffe met Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov.

The guests acquainted the Bulgarian prime minister with the political and economic situation in Ukraine and with the progress of privatization in that country in particular, the Press Office of the Council of Ministers announced. Mr. Lyuben Berov expressed the hope that a common way would be found in the settling of the problems and tasks facing the two countries.

The Ukrainian deputy prime minister said that tomorrow he will order to start the loading of the agreed quantities of Ukrainian coal for Bulgaria.

Joint Plan With Romania To Inspect Convoy

AU1203075193 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Representatives of the Romanian and Bulgarian competent authorities met in Giurgiu last night to coordinate their activities for inspecting a Serbian convoy comprising the Detslenara ship, the Sejkal tugboat and four barges, and carrying maize, the Foreign Ministry spokesperson told BTA. The meeting was held in compliance with the decisions adopted at the Bucharest trilateral meeting for mutual information and joint actions between Bulgaria, Romania and Ukraine in the strict enforcement of the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro along the Danube.

The Serbian convoy started downstream the Danube from the village of Prakhovo at 1900 hrs on March 9. At about noon on March 10 it passed the Romanian village of Beket and at about 730 hrs [0530 GMT] today it was seen in the region of the Bulgarian town of Nikopol.

At the meeting in Giurgiu it was agreed to undertake joint actions for stopping and inspecting the convoy in the section of the island of Kamadinu (about 20 km east of Ruse-Giurgiu). The Romanian side will use three cutters and the Bulgarian two.

The two observers of the EC/CSCE mission stationed in Ruse (northeastern Bulgaria) have been informed of the steps planned by the Bulgarian and Romanian authorities. They expressed readiness to take part in the stopping and the inspection of the convoy.

If the convoy is not stopped in the section till Dunav Most (a bridge across the Danube at Ruse-Giurgiu), the joint actions will continue three to four km east of it.

The Bulgarian Foreign Ministry has instructed Bulgaria's permanent representation in New York to discuss

possible joint actions with the permanent representations in the United Nations of Romania and Ukraine before the UN Sanctions Committee.

Customs Authorities Board Convoy

AU1203082293 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] The Serbian vessels carrying a cargo of maize have reached the vicinity of Ruse, where they were awaited by the Romanian and Bulgarian customs authorities. Five Romanian and two Bulgarian launches took part in the joint operation of inspecting the Serbian ships. The participants included Bulgarian and Romanian customs officers and navigation inspectors, as well as two American observers stationed in Ruse to offer assistance in applying the sanctions.

About 5 kilometers from Ruse, they succeeded in stopping the Serbian convoy and went on board to check the vessels' documents and cargo. The American observers will check the authenticity of the information in the documents presented, and will inform the UN Sanctions Committee in Vienna and the U.S. Embassy in Sofia of the results of the inspection this very evening.

If any breach of the embargo is established, and if the UN Sanctions Committee so decides, the Serbian convoy will be stopped from proceeding along the Danube.

Cocom Experts To 'Map Out' Future Cooperation

AU1103194793 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Dutch experts within the framework of Cocom [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] are on a two-day visit here to map out the guidelines of future cooperation with Bulgaria.

At the Ministry of Trade the experts discussed the Bulgarian legal framework with Bulgarian experts of the working group for Cocom. At a meeting with Bulgarian customs officials at the Chief Customs Department they spoke of their experience in the establishment of a customs control system.

Tomorrow the Dutch delegation will meet with representatives of Bulgarian business circles at the Ministry of Industry and with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Mr. Valentin Karabashev.

The two sides are expected to prepare a document on the guidelines of future cooperation.

Foreign Directors Discuss Telecommunications

AU1103172493 Sofia BTA in English 1623 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—A meeting of the general directors of the telecommunications companies of Greece, Romania, Moldova, Ukraine and Bulgaria ended here today. It was hosted by the Bulgarian Telecommunications Company, a spokesman of the company, Mr. Valentin Kolev, told BTA. The meeting discussed issues concerning direct and transit telephone services between the participating countries, Mr. Kolev said. It adopted a decision for expanding the existing international telephone trunk network from Athens to Kishinev and Kiev through Bulgaria and Romania. This would improve telephone access to each of the countries participating in the meeting. It has been provided for 180 new telephone lines to be installed through Bulgaria by the end of this year.

Parliament Questions Dimitrov on Education Reform

AU1203143493 Sofia BTA in English 1241 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—It is necessary to introduce civic studies at the Bulgarian schools, Prof. Marin Dimitrov, minister of education, science and culture, said in parliament today.

Prof. Dimitrov argued that Bulgarian children have no idea of the basic laws in this country and of the international organizations. According to him, this is at the root of the young people's disregard for the institutions of the Bulgarian state.

Civic studies should also include classes in combatting drugs abuse, aids and religious sects which are now taking hold of Bulgarian schools, the minister of education, science and culture believes. According to him, Bulgarian schoolchildren should also be acquainted with the problems of environment protection. It is necessary to improve the work of the schools in the field of sports too, Prof. Dimitrov added.

Professor Dimitrov insisted before parliament on the restoration of the school boards of trustees including parents and public figures to control and assist the process of education. This is a tradition in Bulgarian education introduced last century during the Bulgarian national revival.

Cabinet Discusses 1993 Draft Budget

AU1203083693 Sofia BTA in English 2150 GMT 11 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The Danube is not blocked, the BTA correspondent in Vidin, northwestern Bulgaria, reports. A Ukrainian barge train sailed downstream past Vidin Port at noon today.

At a regular meeting today, the government discussed a report on the 1993 draft budget filed by Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov. The budget was not passed, as, according to the cabinet spokesman, a passage was not a one-time act, but a "complicated" longer process. The

Privatization Agency filed a report on the privatization programme for 1993 but the ministers decided to debate it at a special meeting next week.

At a meeting today, the cabinet set the prices of liquid fuels for the March 16-30 period. Petrol goes up by 0.20 to 0.40 leva per litre.

The Sofia state-run bread and pastry maker raises the bread prices as of next Monday, the firm's manager told BTA.

Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov warned reporters that National Television staff, who are on a strike, "may not receive budget allocations in 1993, if they keep acting in this way." "National Television is run by the government and cannot give ultimatums," Mr. Aleksandrov said, commenting on demands by TV employees. Protesting TV people removed close-ups from newscasts yesterday and aired black-and-white newscasts today. At the end of the prime-time evening news broadcast, a trade union leader announced negotiations started with newly elected National Television boss Khacho Boyadzhiev.

At a news conference today, the extraparliamentary Constitutional Forum criticized the two-month old cabinet of Professor Lyuben Berov elected with the votes of the MP's of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), and some MP's of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). According to Dimitur Chavdarov, deputy leader of the organization which unites mostly intellectuals, the cabinet is just fussing over the land reform and privatization while doing nothing.

At a news conference today, the extraparliamentary Christian Agrarian Party expressed alarm over the slow progress of the land reform and "above all, the attempts of certain retrograde forces to alter its very nature." The party declaration to this effect was prompted by alleged BSP-sponsored efforts to amend the Land Tenure Act. [passage omitted]

Some 400 Bulgarian blue helmets were called back from Cambodia, General Zakhari Iliev, who recently held on-spot inspections, told a news conference. His working team reports violations of discipline, most often disputes with senior ranks, alcohol abuse, and misconduct with locals.

Living conditions of the European military and their families were high on the agenda of the three-day Euromil session which ended here today. The participants had been invited by the Bulgarian Rakovski Officers' Legion, which joined Euromil last year.

At a meeting with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, recently appointed Finnish Ambassador Mauno Castren showed interest in legal protection of foreign investment in Bulgaria, saying Finland was ready to sign a bilateral accord in this field. He confirmed the Finnish foreign minister would visit Bulgaria in May.

Venezuelan Ambassador Erik Becker, who visited Mr. Yordanov today, presented an official proposal by the Venezuelan Parliament to set up parliamentary groups for friendship with Bulgaria, to promote relations in the machine-tools and pharmaceutical industries, stock breeding, and cultural exchange. [passage omitted]

The executive directors of the World Bank approved a 3 million dollar loan to Bulgaria's power engineering, the National Radio's Khorizont Programme reported in an evening news broadcast, citing a news briefing at the National Electricity Company (NEC) headquarters. The U.S. Agency for International Development will help work out projects to restructure the NEC. The United States will also help improve the sector's management and efficiency and enhance nuclear safety. [passage omitted]

New Television Chief Desires Professionalism

AU1103195193 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—Mr. Khacho Boyadzhiev (61) is the new director general of Bulgarian National Television (BNT) whom parliament elected today by 173 of a total of 205 votes. The Parliamentary Radio and Television Committee nominated him after extensive discussions of 12 candidatures to this post.

Mr. Boyadzhiev became chief of National Television after some ten days ago parliament relieved the former director general, Mr. Asen Agov, from this post. Mr. Agov was accused that under him the National Television was partial, performed political commissions and violated its provisional statutes.

"I will try to make the national television professional," Mr. Boyadzhiev told journalists after his election. "I will continue the reform at the national television," he added.

Mr. Boyadzhiev graduated in drama production from the National Academy of Cinema and Drama, having previously studied mathematics at the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia. He has worked as chief director and manager of the Vidin Theatre. Since 1964 he has been working as a director at Bulgarian National Television. He has specialized in TV production in France. Mr. Boyadzhiev is known as the producer of a number of New Year's Eve shows on Bulgarian television.

According to the statements made by representatives of the three parliamentary groups, Mr. Boyadzhiev is the most appropriate figure to head National Television, bearing in mind his platform. He is the fifth director general of the BNT since the fall of Zhivkov's regime and the beginning of the democratic processes in Bulgaria.

Mr. Boyadzhiev was elected at time when TV workers are threatening with a strike which may start on March 15. They insist on the continuation of the reform at the BNT on its re-equipment and on some social acquisitions, including a rise in salaries.

New Trade Union Amalgamation Established

AU1103144693 Sofia BTA in English 1419 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 11 (BTA)—The Community of Free Trade Union Organizations in Bulgaria was presented here today by the President of the Business Trade Union, Mr. Asen Chaushev. This new trade union amalgamation includes the Union of Actors, the Academic Trade Union Council with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Union of Power Engineers, the Federation of University Trade Unions, the Trade union of Tram Drivers, the Sailors' Trade Union in Varna and the National Business Trade Union. Mr. Chaushev told the press that what unites these trade union organizations is the fact that they are not committed to and do not support any political force. According to Mr. Chaushev the members of this new trade union amalgamation number 200,000 and the Business Trade Union alone numbers 120,000.

All this necessitated Mr. Chaushev's meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev at which the issue of the participation of the new trade union amalgamation in the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation was discussed. According to the leader of the Business Trade Union, the government has no grounds to refuse such participation all the more so that the strategic goal of the amalgamation is to establish itself as the first trade union force in Bulgaria.

Mr. Chaushev also told journalists that the Business Trade Union is ready to present the cabinet with a programme for the opening of 400,000 new jobs in all economic areas which would bring about 20 billion leva into the budget. The programme has been worked out and can be realized without foreign investment, the president of the Business Trade Union said.

At present there are two major trade union amalgamations in Bulgaria - the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) - both represented at the National Council for Tripartite Cooperation (the government, the trade unions and the employers) and several smaller ones.

Fourth Parliamentary Group Formed

AU1203082593 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] The New Union for Democracy [Nov suyuz za demokratsiya]—this is the name of the fourth parliamentary group that was formed today after the National Assembly members voted for an amendment to the Regulations for the Organization and Work of the National Assembly. Under this amendment 10 deputies may form an independent group in parliament.

Dimitur Ludzhev, one of the initiators for forming the new group, let it be known that the new group will have its program declaration ready in a week's time, and will prepare a more extensive program within a month.

At the moment the new formation includes 18 independent deputies. This evening they convened at their first constituent meeting, at which they agreed by consensus the principles governing the group's leadership. They elected three co-chairmen, who will be responsible for different fields of activity. Their names are Nikolay Vasilev, Krasimir Naydenov, and Petur Markov. Their colleague Radka Vasileva is authorized to act as the group's spokesman. The group still has to prepare the final version of its already adopted rules of procedure.

Tomorrow the New Union for Democracy will deposit its documents with the chairman of the National Assembly so that the group can be recorded in the parliamentary registers.

Havel Comments on Division of CSFR

AU1103141593 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Mar 93 p 12

["Exclusive" interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Karl-Peter Schwarz; place and date not given: "All My Life Is Full of Paradoxes, Even Absurdities"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[Schwarz] What do you want to do to improve the relationship between Czechs and Slovaks?

[Havel] I will try to contribute to mutual understanding even when controversial topics are being discussed. At the moment, for instance, the border regime between the two republics is a topical issue, and there are different opinions on that.

I have already discussed the issue with Prime Minister Meciar. I told him that we do not want to erect an iron curtain between our citizens. The issues are, much rather, practical problems. If, for instance, we expect major waves of refugees and an agreement among several central European countries is concluded, all borders must be up to international standards. This is in the common interest.

I cannot interfere directly in decisions—this would mean exceeding my constitutional powers—but I can contribute to a dialogue and help to achieve a compromise, which is acceptable for both sides. I gained some experience in that at the time we were looking for a new form for our federation.

[Schwarz] One important issue has not yet been settled in the Czech Constitution: the internal structure of the republic.

[Havel] The topic has been the subject of heated discussion for three years, and the debate is now nearing its climax. So far, we have had a very general constitutional clause, which envisages several territorial administrative units, provinces, or lands.

A constitutional law is to be adopted soon which defines and names these administrative units and which will specify the relations between state administration and self-administration.

Next autumn there will be local elections, which are already supposed to be held in these units.

[Schwarz] You are a democrat. Are you also a federalist?

[Havel] I do not think that a federal order as in Germany or Austria would currently be of benefit to the Czech Republic. There are no sufficient traditions for that.

Moravia had its land order, Bohemia has a different history. A dualistic Bohemia-Moravia on a federal basis would not be good, in my view. The future development will show whether we will change this territorial administrative system.

Some of our parties are for a federal constitution. I do not rule out such an idea beforehand, but at the moment I do not think that it would be good. It would be an artificial solution.

[Schwarz] Central Europe is dragging many open questions along because of its history, among other things, the deportation of the Germans from Czechoslovakia, which the Austrian president wants to discuss with you.

[Havel] I certainly do not want to avoid this discussion. I understand the problem, and I want to discuss it very frankly with the president. But I do not think that it will be possible to give the Germans, who were resettled after the war, back their property.

There are many reasons why we cannot go further back than 25 February 1948. History is full of injustices, and the current government cannot make restitutions for its history and that of neighboring countries. This is impossible.

I myself have repeatedly expressed my very critical opinion about the resettlement. Even though it was not a purely Czechoslovak invention—it was affirmed by the victorious powers in Potsdam and also applied to other countries, such as Poland—I do believe that, within the establishment of new relations, it is necessary to think about this past and to talk about it frankly.

What was bad must be condemned. But then one must make efforts for good relations and must intensify cooperation.

[Schwarz] Not only a restitution of property is demanded but also permission to return to the old homeland, for instance in the form of dual citizenship.

[Havel] It is already two years since we first considered this possibility, when we prepared the treaty with Germany. The issue was not the restitution of property at that time. The issue was to make it possible for those who feel the urge to return to have dual citizenship, but, naturally, under the condition that they are looking for housing themselves.

They would not have received anything back, but this dual citizenship would have granted rights which a normal foreigner does not have, such as participation in coupon privatization.

This was an alternative that we discussed noncommittally at the time of the federation—our government with the German government. But this idea was not implemented. Now it is not so topical any more. I cannot say whether it will be considered again. First of all, our government coalition would have to hold extensive negotiations on that.

The faster Austria and the Czech Republic get close to the EC, the less topical this alternative will become, because we are approaching some sort of European citizenship, which solves this problem.

Defense Ministry Discusses Concept for Army

AU1103155093 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 10 Mar 93 p 2

[CTK report: "A Concept for the Czech Army"]

[Text] The Caucus of the Czech Republic's Defense Minister dealt with the first version of the document called "The Basic Concept for the Establishment of the Army of the Czech Republic by 1996", presented by the Concept Drafting Group at the Czech Ministry of Defense yesterday.

The time schedule envisages that this concept will be presented to the Czech Government by the end of March, and then it will be debated in Parliament in April and March. It is expected to be implemented in July. Representatives from the Foreign Ministry, the Interior Ministry, the Ministry of Finance, and the Czech Parliamentary Committee for Legal Protection and Security, also participated in the meeting of the Caucus, headed by Defense Minister Baudys.

Dyba Rejects Comparisons With U.S. Program

LD1203112593 Prague CTK in English 1103 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 12 (CTK)—In an interview with today's Czech daily "MLADA FRONTA DNES", Czech Economics Minister Karel Dyba warns against drawing conclusions from superficial comparisons of Czech economic reforms and U.S. President Bill Clinton's economic programme.

The paper put several questions to Dyba in connection with the fact that a number of our opposition politicians claim that the election of Democrat Bill Clinton as U.S. President heralds the dusk of the conservative thinking of the 1980s and a definitive failure of the 'neoconservative economic wave' bidding on the free functioning of market forces, a permanent anti-inflationary policy and massive restriction of budgetary expanditures.

Before we succumb to the lures of a superficial political comparison, it would be good to get acquianted thoroughly with Clinton's programme, Dyba says.

I say that the programme of any government must be analysed against specific economic conditions of the given country...to derive any ideological links with one or another party from Clinton's programme is 'wishful thinking' as the Americans say, Dyba points out.

Asked whether the Czech Government should not combine the inivisible hand (of the market) with a convincing government guidance as recommended by economist Milan Matejka from the opposition Liberal Social Union (LSU), Dyba says:

I have not understood exactly what the 'convincing government guidance' means. The Czech Government has already clearly shown in the cases of the Skoda, Aero and CKD enterprises that it is capable of dealing with particular companies if necessary. But the government should not be expected in the future to guide enterprises by hand, Dyba says.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Austria

AU1103170493 Prague CTK in English 2204 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Vienna March 10 (CTK correspondent) — A Czech parliamentary delegation led by Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde arrived in the Austrian capital tonight on a two-day working visit.

Czech parliamentary deputies met with Czech Embassy staff upon their arrival to discuss Czech-Austrian relations, including the sensitive issue of the Temelin nuclear power plant, whose completion the Czech Government approved today. The group will meet with Austrian president Thomas Klestil, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and other top political and cultural figures during its stay.

Parliamentarians Optimistic on Ties with EC

AU1103170593 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Strasburg Mar 10 (CTK correspondent)—Jiri Payne, leading a delegation of Czech parliamentarians, told CTK today at the end of three days of meetings with European parliament and European community (EC) officials that a foundation had been laid for discussing the Czech Republic's association with the EC.

Payne noted that restrictive quotas on steel and other central European goods imposed by the EC would be reconsidered. He said that the introduction of a clause on the observance of human rights in the Association Agreement between the EC and the Czech Republic remained an open question. Czech representatives have expressed their opposition to such a clause, on grounds that it would put them in an unequal position with the EC.

Payne said there had been discussions on establishing concrete links between individual Czech political parties and deputy groups in the European Parliament.

The Czech parliamentarians today met with Danish Foreign Minister Nielsen Hleveg Petersen, whose country currently presides over the EC.

Minister Discusses Ways To Settle Slovak Debt

LD1103201093 Prague CTK in English 1927 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Czech claims against Slovakia resulting from the splitting of the Czechoslovak State Bank amount to 24.7 billion crowns (850 million USD), Czech Minister of Privatisation Jiri Skalicky told a press conference today.

He said Slovakia's debt could be lowered by 5 billion crowns by applying Slovakia's share in former federal property to the package. The remaining portion would be financed by shares issued by the Slovak National Bank, which would be transferred to the Czech side.

Regarding last year's first wave of coupon privatisation, which was held jointly in the Czech and Slovak Republics, Skalicky said Prague was hesitant to issue shares in Czech companies to Slovak holders of investment coupons distributed last year. He said the Czech government was weighing its options, but might consider not issuing the shares to Slovak citizens and using surplus funds thus obtained to partially finance the Slovak debt. Prague might alternatively wait until Bratislava settles its debt before issuing the shares, said Skalicky, who attended a meeting here Wednesday of the two republics' Property Division Commissions.

Klaus, EC's Brittan Discuss Duties on Steel

LD1103225093 Prague CTK in English 2208 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Sir Leon Brittan, a member of the European Community (EC) Commission in Charge of External Economic Relations, is preparing initiatives that could lead to the removal of anti-dumping duties on steel imports from the Czech Republic and other Central European countries, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

Speaking with CTK after his meeting with Brittan, currently on a five-day visit to the Czech and Slovak Republics, Klaus said that these initiatives are to be submitted to a session of EC heads of state and government in Copenhagen in June.

The validity of temporary anti-dumping duties on steel imports from Eastern Europe, which were to be in effect until March 15, was extended by another two months at the beginning of March. According to Czech steel exporters, the duty, set at 30.4 per cent, is so high that it blocks Czech exports to the EC countries.

The possibility of reducing the current anti-dumping duties on steel imports from the Czech Republic was also discussed by Sir Leon Brittan and Czech Minister of Industry and Trade Vladimir Dlouhy.

We will insist that no direct or indirect subsidies be granted that would make the other side adopt any anti-dumping measures, Dlouhy said after his meeting with Brittan.

He added that the Czech government will do its best to ensure that the duty is reduced from the current 30.4 per cent to the level set before the introduction of temporary measures, that is to 15 - 17 per cent.

Sir Leon Brittan also met today with Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec and Economics Minister Karel Dyba.

During the meeting, Zieleniec called for a more intensive dialogue between the Czech Republic and EC members.

The Czech Republic feels that its relation towards the EC is not yet a partnership. Therefore we would welcome development of a livelier dialogue and practical consultations with the EC members also at informal levels, the Foreign Ministry's spokeswoman, Lucie Pilipova, quoted Zieleniec as saying.

Government Signs Agreement With Trade Unions

LD1103162493 Prague CTK in English 1601 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—Czech trade unions, enterpreneurs and the government signed a general agreement today covering relations for 1993, mainly as regards employment, wages and social insurance.

The government binds itself to providing 1.25 billion crowns (43 million USD) in funds for worker retraining programmes and enterprise development projects. Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told a news conference that the government considers the agreement's signing an important event. He said that with time the government would remove itself from negotiations between unions and employers, but that for the moment it had to maintain an essential presence.

The main signatories to the agreement were the Czech Government, the Confederation of Entrepreneurs and Employers, the Czech-Moravian Chamber of Trade Unions and the Confederation of Art and Culture.

KDU-CSL Presidium on Administrative Division

LD1103152093 Prague CTK in English 1429 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—The Czech Republic should be divided into three main administrative regions in Moravia and another seven in Bohemia, says the presidium of the Christian and Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL).

The border between Bohemia and Moravia would be based on the historical divide with disputed sections to be settled by local referendums.

KDU-CSL suggests Prague, Hradec Kralove, Usti Nad Labem, Plzen, Ceske Budejovice, Liberec, Pardubice, Brno, Olomouc and Ostrava as the centers of the ten self-governing regions, Jan Kasal, deputy chairman of the parliament and KDU-CSL told journalists today.

According to Kasal, the KDU-CSL is aware that the regions' powers will still have to be balanced out with respect to both the individual municipalities and the whole of the republic. Competencies should be best apportioned in such a way as to sustain the subsidiarity principle—let all that can be dealt with at the lowest level of government be done there, said Kasal.

He also said that his party favours the inception of the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics and intends to back up the concept of a formalities-free movement across the border in both directions for the inhabitants of the borderline districts.

The board is going to put its proposal for approval to the KDU-CSL's national leadership when it meets on April 2-3, Kasal concluded.

Army Could Guard Borders With Slovakia

AU1103154893 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Mar 93 p 3

["(per)"-signed report: "Some 500 Soldiers Could Guard the Borders with Slovakia"]

[Text] Prague—"In our opinion—which could change, however—we believe that it would be enough to use some 500 soldiers to guard the borders with the Slovak Republic, while doing their basic military service and being under the command of the Ministry of Interior. The Czech Republic Government, however, does not want to take any unilateral steps without having discussed it first with the Slovak side," Defense Minister Antonin Baudys told a RUDE PRAVO reporter on Monday [8 March]. "The Czech Republic Government must decide, on the basis of applicable law, whether the Army could possibly be used to cooperate with the border police and the Alien's Registration Office to secure the borders with the Slovak Republic. Should this be the case, the Army is prepared to determine the number of soldiers required and fulfill this task within 5 days," Baudys said.

According to the "Events" television program on Monday, the monitoring of the Czech-Slovak borders began at the border crossing in Stary Hrozenkov in the Uherske Hradiste district on Monday. For example, Slovak surveyors began working there under orders from the District Office in the Drietoma border village.

New Currency in Circulation by End of Year

LD1103213893 Prague CTK in English 2042 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 11 (CTK)—New Czech currency to replace the temporary stamped notes and old federal coins currently in circulation will be issued before the end of the year, Czech National Bank spokesman Martin Svehla told CTK today following a meeting of the bank's governing council.

Svehla also noted the bank's successful emission of over 300 million USD of Eurodollar bonds on world markets. The bonds carry a seven per cent return to be paid in three years. Svehla said the bank plans to expand its bond issue by an additional 75 million USD.

Police Confiscate Submachine Guns in Plzen

AU1103180093 Prague CTK in English 1822 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—The west Bohemian police confiscated yesterday 15 submachine guns from the trading company Redos of Plzen, police investigator Rudolf Petran told CTK today.

An unnamed director of the company said he was in charge of the regional seizure of firearms from the (communist-run) paramilitary organization Svazarm. He did not manage, however, to collect 15 guns before the deadline from a nearby district and thus he kept them.

The weapons will be checked for operability, only nine are marked with a red stripe on the barrel indicating they are disabled. The authorities intend to bring weapons' charges against the Redos director, a former colonel in the Czechoslovak Army, if any guns are found capable of firing.

Independent Candidates Dominate Local Elections

AU1103175893 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 10 Mar 93 p 3

[CTK report: "Independent Candidates Have Won"]

[Text] Prague—In local elections in 128 communities in the Czech Republic on 6 March, independent candidates have won the majority of the votes, almost 70 percent. Political parties received significantly fewer votes. Of the political parties, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, followed by the Civic Democratic Party and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia received significantly fewer votes.

Elections were held to elect deputies in representative assemblies because a number of new communities were established on 1 January. A total of 18,118 people participated in the elections, which was a 76.7 turnout of eligible voters. A total of 1,165 new members of representative assemblies were elected, 206 women and 959 men.

The Association of Independent Candidates received 45.8 percent and has won 679 offices. Independent candidates received 23.5 percent and won 294 seats, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party received 10.6 percent and won 50 seats, the Civic Democratic Party 10.6 percent and 50 seats, and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia received 9.6 percent and won 36 seats.

Moravian-Silesian Assembly Writes CE

AU1103173493 Prague CTK in English 2104 GMT 9 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 9 (CTK)—The Moravian-Silesian Assembly (MSA) sent a letter to Council of Europe (CE) Secretary General Catherine Lalumiere asking her for consultation on the effort at Moravia's autonomy.

The MSA was founded on 28 November 1992 in Brno, south Moravia. It strives for Moravia's autonomy.

The letter, which was handed over to CTK today, says that the democratic elections and the 1991 population census objectively evidenced the obvious existence of the Moravian nation as one of the subjects forming Czechoslovakia's statehood and as part of Europe.

The letter writes that the historical development of the Moravian nation commenced before one thousand years. The abolition of Moravia and part of Silesia by the totalitarian regime has not wiped them off the European map and peoples memory, the letter says.

The assembly claims all the ethnic minorities rights for the Moravian nation. For this purpose, it would like to send its representatives for consultations to the EC seat in Strasbourg, the letter says and asks Lalumiere to set a possible date for this meeting.

The letter, signed by the MSA spokesman Milan Loukota, presents the MSA as a grouping of the parliamentary deputies elected in Moravia and Silesia who support the idea of the Moravian land as part of the Czech Republic.

Article Urges Press To Keep Klaus Under Control

AU1103182993 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 10, 8-14 Mar, p 3

[Ivan Hoffman article: "How To Praise Vaclav Klaus"]

[Text] No wonder the Czech prime minister is likely to be the least criticized politician in Europe. What he took upon himself provides almost a complete immunity for him. With minor exceptions, domestic reporters are frustrated that for criticizing this or that about Vaclav Klaus, they could be accused of criticizing the Czech state, government, or reform, in which they see their future. And probably worst of all, in criticizing this or that action or statement by the prime minister, they may be accused of criticizing Vaclav Klaus himself.

Unjust Criticism

If there appears, from time to time, criticism of the prime minister, or even a hint of it, television shots immediately follow, in which the overworked prime minister complains about being mistreated by the press which overlooks his successes. As a consequence of his monologues regarding insufficient publicity (aired, of course, at peak viewing times and on the most popular channels) the majority of the reporters then lose their desire for discussion. The press does not deserve reproach just because it is keeping in check the most powerful man—by well-meant remarks, modest recommendations, or inconspicuous messages—or for having unjustly criticized the prime minister from time to time.

If someone feels bothered by Klaus's conduct, and advises him how to behave, then he should know that it was just because of his behavior and conduct that he won the elections. If anyeone wants to dispute the fact that Vaclav Klaus has a program and a vision of the future, then it is not fair to avoid mentioning that Klaus was able to convince the people that he had both. In politics, it is irrelevant that others may have both the program and vision—maybe, even better ones—if they are unable to convince the people of it.

When there are discussions about whether the leader of a party which is dependent on the support of other members of the government coalition should be more communicative toward his partners, he should show a sense for compromise, and take into consideration the opinions of others—not only his own. We should not forget that post-communist society appreciates exactly the people of the Klaus type—politicians who make a masterful impression, who know how to do things, and who have no time for compromises.

There Is No Other Alternative

After the analysis by Jan Machacek, which proved that the government is not fulfilling principal points of the economic part of its policy statement (RESPEKT no. 8) [filed as au2602094393 and add], we should not speak about Klaus the economist. We should speak about Klaus the politician, who is an ideal person fulfilling exactly the demand in the environment of post-totalitarian society, shaken by the communist education which taught that one is not responsible for one's own actions. Supply is the opposite of demand, in market terminology. Let us as ask, then, who could replace Klaus.

Klaus' critics from the left could recognize, if they only wanted to, that they cannot offer our society a similarly charismatic leader from their own center, a leader who would be concerned, above all, about the social consequences of his steps. And the critics from the right could see in Klaus—if they were more patient—their man. In a situation in which a large part of society is scared of a radical transition to a market economy, there is no politician on the right who would be more capable, who would have the brains, and be willing to give lectures. Moreover, no one knows how long he will have to conduct the pro-reformist campaign—how much chalk will he have to consume on the blackboard on television—before there is a shift in peoples' hard-to-adapt minds, which will make it possible to complete the reform.

Victims and Cause

Politely harmless, well-meaning—or, on the contrary, unjust—criticism of Klaus will certainly not disappear from our press. The prime minister will have the opportunity to complain, as a preventive measure, about the situation in the media, so as to make the rank-and-file citizen wave his hand and say "Those journalists...."

Politically, there is one important thing: if Vaclav Klaus—as prime minister of a government that is blamed by the people for the high price of butter, problems in job and education, and, maybe even for the fact that they did not sleep well—achieves a 64 percent approval rating, then there is nothing we should discuss. To sum up: Today Vaclav Klaus is more powerful than the press.

Czech society must keep power in check, however. In order to provide constructive criticism profitable to Vaclav Klaus, journalists must first remove the myths from people's minds, myths that certainly surround this politician (he certainly has his own merit in these myths). To put it differently: Vaclav Klaus should not be praised without reference to the miserable situation in social demand [socialni objednavka], of which politicians are not only the victims, but also the cause.

Meciar Says Nation To Abandon Klaus Policies

AU1103173793 Prague CTK in English 2138 GMT 7 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 7 (CTK)—Slovak economy ministers and experts agreed at their four-day meeting in Stara Tura, west Slovakia, that Slovak society will be market-oriented and will respect the character of social and environmental measures, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak television today.

He stressed that it is the social character of economic reform which makes it different from Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's conception.

At a meeting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) on Wednesday [3 March], Meciar said Slovakia was abandoning the Klaus-style reform of economic policy which, he said, had caused a 30-percent economic decline in Slovakia.

In his regular television address, Meciar said that it is necessary to halt Slovakia's economic decline, and called on all citizens, institutions and enterprises in Slovakia to cooperate in an effort to halt the unfavorable development.

The government cannot make it all by itself, Meciar said.

Emphasizing the need for balance and stability of the Slovak currency, he characterized Slovak money as very lazy, and added that people must learn to economize with it.

According to Meciar, the representative of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Jacques de Groote, whom he met in Stara Tura, expressed satisfaction with the state of Slovakia's economic policy. He also admitted, according to Meciar, that IMF representatives made a mistake during their visit to Slovakia because the data they had at their disposal assumed a worse state of the Slovak economy.

Meciar was referring to the visit by an IMF delegation, which arrived in Bratislava 15 February to discuss a loan of $100 million and other questions with the Slovak Government and representatives of the National Bank of Slovakia. The sudden interruption of the talks on 20 February was believed to have been caused by disagreement over the Slovak currency's devaluation.

Interviewed on New Economic Policy

LD1103180493 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] The Slovak Government has met in an harmonious atmosphere. The meeting was attended by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, and Minister Milan Knazko, who is being recalled. Three important documents were approved: fulfillment of the policy statement; the new concept of economic policy; and a thesis of further development.

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, when departing for Modra Harmonia, very briefly replied to questions of Radiojournal which was represented by Zuzana Stukovska, as well as those of television, which was interested in how the approved documents will influence the economic situation in Slovakia and the Government's further activity.

[Begin recording] [Meciar] The first documents essentially are an account of the Government's activity for the period since it came to power; the National Council, within the framework of its control activity, has the right to have consistent material at its disposal, because the partial materials are already in the hands of individual committees. The Government can submit an account of its work. It has done a lot of useful things, and it can account for them. These assessments of the actual situation so far have been arising, whether in the market areas or the development of economy or other relations.

The second batch of documents which deals with the concept of economic policy for 1993, basically contains the sum total of the pragmatic steps which [have been taken] in the sphere of legislation on output. However, discussion of business matters must take place within a short period of time in order to halt further economic decay.

The third batch of documents is an attempt to set out a medium- and long-term strategy of the Slovak Republic in all the spheres that will probably be subject to other amendments, so that this medium- and long-term strategy might be set out regardless of political subjects. If others are also program-oriented, these materials will then become an axis around which, most likely, the programs of other political parties will evolve.

[Stukovska] Prime Minister, which part of this account will be most broadly discussed at the plenum of the Slovak National Council?

[Meciar] It depends on how the discussion is conducted. If the discussion is conducted in a matter-of-fact way, then assessment of the past is essentially a return to the status quo which had already arisen, and where everybody has the right to a viewpoint.

Assessment of the economic policy can likewise be understood subjectively, but we understand it in that we agreed upon it with business subjects. We merely have to work out more consistently the part connected with wages and complete what is connected with land economy and agriculture as a whole.

This second part may likewise be a topic of discussions because it means certain changes in strategies in the sequence of steps, as well as certain measures which will begin to establish order in the economic sphere, and better discipline, which will not be liked by everyoned, so there may be differences of opinion. As to a long-term view, it is just a prediction. Discussion of prediction is possible, because in our country only the future is certain. This means that we can have any sort of ideas

about it. They will be corrected by life in a few years' time and then nobody will remember what was said by anyone.

[Stukovska] Will the Government discuss this question of accounts, or was this the last session prior to the National Council plenum?

[Meciar] It was the last session. We are thus giving the National Council comprehensive material for the plenum. The committees discussed for some time how to submit material to the committees by 28 February. We have fulfilled this principle and these are complex materials that we are handing over today. [end recording]

Briefs Journalists

LD1103185593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Soon after the government's extraordinary session, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar left for Modra Harmonia today where he met with journalists. We broadcast live the major part of Meciar's report on Slovakia's future economic strategy. At this time we offer you some important parts of the report. Before we do that, we will ask Magda Pospisilova and Milan Velecky, who are among the journalists at the news conference, to briefly summarize the report.

[Pospisilova] The news conference with the Slovak prime minister here in Modra Harmonia is still under way. [passae omitted]

Before the journalists had a chance to ask their questions, the prime minister analysed the current state of the Slovak economy in a report more than an hour long. He assessed the current situation and said that the economy is still suffering from a negative development. The fall in Gross National Product is 26-28 percent. According to some data, inflation this fall is more than 30 percent. If this continues, it will take us until 1999 to reach the level of 1989. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar said the following about specific tasks:

[Begin Meciar recording] Our orientation in the economic area and the emphasis we place on it today is not mere chance. This area determines the future functioning of the Slovak Republic. If we succeed in fulfilling the aims and objectives we set ourselves for 1993 and with which we will acquaint the parliament and the public, it will be a success. But this success depends first and foremost on society's orientation toward solving topical, matter-of-fact problems. First of all, in the area of the economy negative development still continues.

The volume of Gross National Product is falling. According to government data, the figure is 26-28 percent. According to analyses that take inflation, etc. into account, the figure is more than 30 percent. The trend of a worsening situation continues. If this year we succeed in halting this fall and next year achieve a five percent increase in the economy, which is an optimistic rather then a realistic outlook, it will take us until 1999 to reach the level of 1989. This is influenced by many factors. [passage omitted]

The influence of these negative factors will deepen in 1993. A fierce political and social struggle will start as an attempt to halt them. This struggle involves certain risks as well as conflicting tendencies. The first possibility that might weaken us lies in the political area. If during this period we fail to maintain political stability and political issues gain dominance over economic problems, and if politics does not start to adapt itself to these economic problems, we will lose time in solving matter-of-fact problems and the depth of the decline will grow. That is why we talk about the inappropriateness of new elections, why we talk about the inappropriateness of the destabilization of society's political structures, why we talk about social peace.

The second important issue ahead of us in the political area is to maintain peace and calm and look for new prospects in the framework of central Europe. We are in favor of the Visegrad Four [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland] becoming institutionalized in the shortest possible time. We are in favor of expanding the economic cooperation of these countries, both through direct cooperation and the mechanism of cooperation with the EC.

Naturally, political issues are connected with stability as far as the issue of nationalities is concerned, and with regional interests that are starting to emerge in Slovakia mainly in connection with unemployment and changes in state administration. They are also connected with the necessity to create guarantees of (?security) for the citizens, guarantees of security for the state. [end recording]

[Pospisilova] From the more than an hour long address by Prime Minister Meciar here in Modra Harmonia we have also chosen the passage in which he talked about conditions for social stability.

[Begin Meciar recording] In January 1993 we had a budget deficit of 1.3 billion [korunas] but in January and February together only 1.2 billion. This means that the trend toward a falling deficit does exist. There exists a real political pressure on the expenditure part of the budget, which conceals factors of great risks.

If the state budget gets into another deficit situation, if we accept all proposed measures for lifting the barriers in the area of social security, we will face a real danger that in 1994 the state will have great problems in paying for its own expenditure. We will either halt this negative trend and stabilize the economy, and tell people that they will get less this year in social benefits but only so that they can get something next year, or we will open the floodgate and knowingly create another huge budget deficit.

As far as issues connected with social stability are concerned, I must say first of all that the fundamental

thing that we want to solve is a sensible wage and employment policy. It is not an easy problem. [passage omitted] We envision that as far as social benefits are concerned, they will increase in relation to the rise in living costs, but with regard to the limits of the budget. [end recording]

[Velecky] [passage omitted] Relations with the Czech Republic were also mentioned at today's news conference. Prime Minister Meciar also indicated several times that he would not put his signature to the Czech proposal for new border controls. He also expressed the need to maintain the current level of trade between our two countries, the Czech and Slovak republics. Vladimir Meciar also said that the government still supports the National Bank of Slovakia preserving the current measures for limiting payments by our enterprises abroad. He also returned to the talks with the IMF. He said that the talks were not completed and that some sort of waiting period of three to four months was declared, and that only after this period is over will we be able to begin talks on concluding an agreement. This is all from Modra for now.

Economy Ministry Official Discusses Insolvency

AU1103163693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Mar 93 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Jozef Petras, director of the Finance Section at the Slovak Economy Ministry, by Ivan Podpustka; place and date not given: "Federal Government Abandons its Children Cuckoo Style"]

[Text] A decision was made at the meeting of economy ministers and experts in Stara Tura regarding a solution to enterprise insolvency. The state assumes responsibility for those obligations for which the enterprises are not to blame [arising from government decisions] but that have great and long-lasting financial effects on them. This is the focus of our interview with Engineer Jozef Petras, director of the Finance Section at the Slovak Economy Ministry.

[Podpustka] One of the issues involves the losses resulting from the decisions of the former federal bodies and the coerced disadvantageous business transactions. These losses are estimated at 3.7 to 3.9 billion korunas. How did this happen?

[Petras] There was construction, for instance, of large power plants: the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project and the Mochovce nuclear power plant. The financing of these projects from the state budget was stopped by a simple wave of the hand. The cost of the construction is too high, and these projects are not capable of financing themselves. At the same time, power generation and fuel are the most profitable industries. Almost 93 percent of all profits in our sector come from these industries. Profits of the Slovak power generating enterprises reached 7.8 billion korunas last year. Even that, however, is not enough to finance large investment complexes.

[Podpustka] This apparently includes conversion of the arms industry....

[Petras] The conversion was unavoidable, but it suffered in its federal implementation, the instruction that exports and production are to stop at once. The enterprises were hit hard because they had to borrow money for fixed assets of all kinds and they could neither sell nor produce. They were completely disabled. Banks either would not lend them money to restructure, or they were overburdened with debts. The adverse international situations, such as the embargoes on exports to Iraq, Libya, and the former Yugoslavia, with whom the companies signed contracts, added to the hardships.

[Podpustka] The inability to repay debts is not limited to these enterprises. There are many others. How does it look in your sector?

[Petras] We are the founders of 497 enterprises, of which 78 are being liquidated and are therefore not included in our analysis. It seems that another 120 enterprises are faring very badly and will also file for protection. Only 276 enterprises showed profit. There are no chemical and metallurgical enterprises losing money, and only one each in the fuel and energy, apparel, printing, recycling, and paper and pulp industries. Nevertheless, these enterprises are insolvent. One-third of all our enterprises are in primary insolvency, most of them, as many as 50 percent, in engineering. The total amount of primary insolvency is 5.4 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. A peculiar situation is developing. Slovnaft, Slovak Gas Works, and Slovak Power Generating Enterprises actually finance all other enterprises and, in a way, act as a bank. They face a dilemma: Should they continue to ship their goods and services to purchasers who are near bankruptcy themselves and unable to pay for them promptly, or stop the shipments altogether? If these three enterprises went bankrupt as a result of secondary insolvency [owing money that is owed to them], the entire Slovak economy will go bankrupt!

[Podpustka] The problem of insolvency must be solved—the primary one by liquidation, settlement and bankruptcy; the secondary one by general, multilateral clearing of obligations and claims. This has been down for several months now by the FIZAKO Ltd. of Bratislava. Although they managed to clear several millions, their endeavors are paralyzed by the fact that reporting the status cannot be ordered. Will the ministry be granted this power?

[Petras] We would be glad if that happened but, as it is, we have no means of compulsion. It is a pity because if just seven of the largest primary insolvency culprits in Slovakia were taken care of, secondary insolvency would be eliminated. The latter spirals off from the former and the chain reaction pulls in everybody.

[Podpustka] The partition of the CSFR, and delivery, payment, and credit conditions with respect to entities in the Czech Republic further complicated the process of

solving this affliction. The work of the organization that is to be established to collect on the claims will probably not be easy....

[Petras] Certainly, not. The Czech Republic claims a surplus of 23 billion. We, on the other hand, believe that the Czech enterprises owe Sk1.3 billion to our companies. The Czech side bases its claim on a single survey done in May 1992. They divided the five-month total by five, and multiplied by twelve. That is the basis of their annual estimate. That is pure fiction. In the meantime, Slovakia does not have the figures of its trade balance and will not have them for awhile. Nevertheless, a realistic picture of the balance of payments should be available. A Finance Ministry edict requested that Slovak enterprises report their obligations and claims in the Czech Republic to the clearing center of the National Bank in Bratislava by 28 February.

Czech, Slovak Transport Agreement Signed

LD1103225493 Prague CTK in English 2226 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 11 (CTK)—Transport Ministers Jan Strasky of the Czech Republic and Roman Hofbauer of Slovakia signed today an agreement on cooperation in railway and road transport and in marine navigation.

Hofbauer told journalists that it is a framework agreement specifying an agreement on cooperation in transport signed by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and his Slovak counterpart Vladimir Meciar in 1992.

Deputy Rules Out Armed Conflict With Hungary

LD1103131393 Prague CTK in English 1232 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest March 11 (CTK correspondent)—Jozef Prokes, deputy chairman of the Slovak Parliament and a member of the Slovak National Party (SNS), rules out any possibility of an armed conflict between the Slovak Republic and Hungary.

Relations between Slovakia and Hungary have not so far come up to the expectations, and they have been brought to their present state largely by the Hungarian side, although others are also responsible, said Prokes in an interview for today's Hungarian daily "UJ MAGYARORSZAG". The prominence Hungary allows the discussion over the Gabcikovo hydroelectrical plant is intended to act as a smokescreen for its internal problems and as a means to channel peoples' attention away from its internal political conflicts, said Prokes.

He added that this did not of course serve the Slovak-Hungarian relations and that it hampered mutual cooperation. Even so, I rule out any possibility of armed conflict, said Prokes.

Regarding the position of ethnic minorities in Slovakia, Prokes said that their rights, compared with the situation in other countries, are far above the average. The Slovak National Party has allegedly never wanted any confrontation, has never wanted to point a finger at the situation of ethnic Slovaks in Hungary and has not threatened that conditions similar to those of ethnic Slovaks in Hungary would be created for ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia. Proceeding in this way would not lead to positive results, said Prokes. He thinks that the ethnic minorities create a natural bridge between their country of origin and the country in which they live.

Prokes stressed that the present rights of ethnic minorities in Slovakia would stay the way they are now and would not be infringed in the future. The minorities' fears of the future are groundless, he said. However, according to Prokes, there are some politicians who can only attract attention by creating much ado about nothing and, without the slightest reason, they talk about the threat to minorities in Slovakia.

Investigation of U.S. Embassy Bugging Halted

LD1103205893 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpts] At the end of last year our public was upset by a report that a bugging device was found in the U.S. Embassy building in Bratislava. Various rumors spread. An investigation was carried out by both Slovak and federal bodies. Magda Pospisilova prepared the following interview with Igor Kostal, deputy prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic and chief military prosecutor, about the current state of affairs.

[Begin recording] [Pospisilova] [passage omitted] Chief Military Prosecutor, the investigation has ended; can you tell us its result now?

[Kostal] The investigation has really ended on the basis of a decision by a prosecutor of the Bratislava District Military Prosecutor's Office, dated 9 March 1993. He stopped the criminal proceedings in this case according to Paragraph 172, Article 1, Letter A of the Penal Code, because it is clear that the crime in question had not taken place.

The investigation carried out has revealed that in spring 1990 the technical devices used for bugging were cut off and thus the device which had been installed in the pre-1986 period could not have been functional in spring 1992. The investigation file includes clear evidence about this. We have reached the conclusion that 15 microphones had been installed in the U.S. Embassy building in Bratislava.

Ukraine Poses No Military Threat

LD1103203993 Budapest MTI in English 2018 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Kiev, March 11 (MTI)—Hungary need fear no Ukrainian military threat, Laszlo Szendrei, Hungarian parliamentary state secretary of defence, said after his two-day visit to Kiev.

On Thursday, the state secretary met his host, Colonel-General Ivan Bizhan, deputy defence minister, again.

Experts with the state secretary held successful talks on military technical cooperation. The Hungarian Army will soon make a list of the parts it needs, and the Ukrainian side another list of what it can offer for sale.

At Ukrainian request, Brigadier General Bela Biro, deputy chief of staff, spoke in detail about the Hungarian armed forces' organisational setup and order of operation.

Bizhan said that regrouping the Ukrainian Army was still in the planning phase. He assured his negotiating partners that the Ukraine posed no danger to Hungary, and planned cuts in its armed forces would also affect the units stationed in Subcarpathia.

ISP Launches New Christian National Movement

LD1103194593 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—Led by the ISP (Independent Smallholders' Party), 17 political groups have set up a Christian National Unity (CNU) movement to balance Hungary's growing left wing and Liberal-Bolshevik blocs with a Christian National Centre, Acting CNU Chairman Antal Endrei told the press on Thursday.

To contest the 1994 elections, the founders decided to form an alliance, he said.

ISP Chairman Jozsef Torgyan announced that the CNU would initiate a referendum to dissolve the Constitutional Court because, he said, "some rulings of the court had caused legal uncertainty."

The CNU also "seeks to promote all endeavours for integrating Hungary into the world economy," Torgyan added.

After the ISP split last year, 36 MPs formed an autonomous parliamentary group while ten MPs remained loyal to the party chairman. In the same year, Torgyan's opponents founded a Historical Smallholders' Party. Both parties regard themselves as the sole inheritors of smallholder traditions.

Torgyan said the union considers the right-wing Hungarian Road (Hungarian Way) movement as its own. The movement was initiated by Istvan Csurka, former vice-chairman and current presidium member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), the strongest party of the governing coalition. Some weeks ago the HDF Presidium dissociated itself from the Hungarian Way movement and prohibited its activists from using the party's infrastructure.

In Torgyan's view, the Hungarian Way is actually a smallholder way. In some localities, the ISP provides its premises for the Hungarian Way circles. "Some circles were even set up by local ISP organisations under my edicts as party chairman," Torgyan said.

The ISP chairman concluded that Csurka, who had always been anti-ISP, "could not be identified with the Hungarian Way."

Parliament Approves Law To Insure Deposits

LD1103145293 Budapest MTI in English 1327 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 11 (MTI)—Hungarian Parliament approved a new law on Tuesday for a national deposit insurance fund, which will provide a guarantee on deposits held with Hungarian financial institutions of up to HUF [Hungarian forints] 1 million including interest and will come into effect on June 30, 1993.

Under the current law, which remains in operation until the new law takes effect, the government gives unlimited guarantees for personal deposits.

An important feature of the new law is that its limited cover is extended to corporate deposits, while it will still cover an estimated 90 per cent of personal deposits.

However, the insurance will not cover deposits from other financial institutions, or from state bodies, or deposit-type securities such as credit notes and deposit certificates issued by banks after June 30, 1993. Anonymous deposits will also not be elligible for the insurance.

Under the law, depositors will receive their insurance payments regardless of any outstanding debts to the institution. This provision will apply when compensation is due under bankruptcy procedures.

All financial institutions that take deposits will be required to join the fund, which will be established at the end of March, 1993. Initial joining fees will be equivalent to 0.5 per cent of equity and will be due before June 30, 1993.

The fund will be financed by annual payments from members amounting to 0.02 per cent of their deposits. For members engaged in risky activities, annual fees may be increased to 0.03 per cent. If the fund is unable to make payments from its own resources, it can get loans from the Hungarian National Bank or from commercial banks and request credit guarantees from the government.

Suchocka Accepts Piatkowski as Justice Minister

AU1203101093 Warsaw PAP in English 1602 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka has accepted the candidature of lawyer Jan Piatkowski as justice minister, to replace Zbigniew Dyka, who has resigned, the prime minister's press secretary Zdobyslaw Milewski announced today.

Zbigniew Dyka, the outgoing prosecutor general and justice minister, resigned just over a month after he was sent on enforced leave by the prime minister. He was suspended following revelations that Jacek Kaucz, a prosecutor who in the 1980's conducted political trials against several opposition figures, was involved in the investigations into the libel case between Centre Accord (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski and head of the Presidential Office Mieczyslaw Wachowski.

Piatkowski's candidature was put forward by the Christian National Union (ZChN), which holds the right to the justice portfolio in the coalition government. The nomination ends a period of tension in the ruling coalition over the appointment.

Under the terms of the small constitution, the prime minister will now notify the president of the nomination, which the president is bound to accept. Piatkowski said he expected this will take place this week.

Jan Piatkowski, age 57, is a parliamentary deputy. He is head of the Sejm Commission for National and Ethnic Minorities.

Commenting on the tasks awaiting him, Piatkowski said that the work of the Justice Ministry needed to be dynamised. Its most important priority will be to deal with the financial and economic frauds, which currently "hang in mid-air," and disturb the whole of society.

He added it would be necessary to take organizational and legislative steps to restore citizens' confidence in the administration of justice and adjust the law to the requirements of everyday life.

Also today, outgoing justice minister Zbigniew Dyka defended his role as minister, and maintained that negative public opinion towards the ministry was unjustified. Dyka told reporters that he recognised the public demand for tangible results in the investigation of major financial scandals. "Justice must be administered swiftly, but it would be bad if it were hurried, he said."

He noted that investigations of two major scandals (the Foreign Debt Servicing Fund (FOZZ) and the "Art-B" company) had been completed, and were now before the courts.

Dyka added that during his period in office, his relations with the president had been good. He refused to reply to questions concerning alleged pressure on the Justice Ministry from the Presidential Office.

Treaty Signed With Turkish Foreign Minister

LD1103193893 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Poland and Turkey on Thursday signed a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation to confirm and supplement the document signed by the two countries on July 23, 1923.

The signatories to the treaty, Polish and Turkish Foreign Ministers Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Hikmet Cetin, respectively, resolved that the old document had to be supplemented in view of changes taking place in the world. According to Skubiszewski, the new treaty opens up broad possibilities of cooperation not only in politics but also in many other fields.

The document states that the two countries will strive for the strengthening and development of contacts both bilateral and within international structures.

Poland and Turkey will develop relations while respecting each other's sovereignty and inviolability of borders. The sides declared they will act in favour of international stability and security in Europe.

Turkey Supports Efforts To Join NATO

LD1103195593 Warsaw PAP in English 1917 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin on Thursday declared his country's support for Poland's striving to become NATO member.

After plenary talks in the Polish Foreign Ministry, Cetin said the fact that Poland and Hungary maintain broad relations with NATO augurs well for the future and added that NATO continues to be a factor that stabilizes international relations despite changing political situation in the world.

Commenting on the talks, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said there are "no controversial issues" in the Polish-Turkish relations, and added the sides discussed the possibility of cooperation in the international arena, also in settling the Balkan crisis.

Walesa Receives Turkish Foreign Minister

LD1203134393 Warsaw PAP in English 1307 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Gdansk, March 12—President Lech Walesa received Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin Friday [12 March] at the Gdansk shipyard "Stocznia Gdanska".

The Polish president expressed concern over new problems facing Europe today, such as the growing instability in the former Soviet territories and the Balkan war. Lech Walesa said that both Poland and Turkey confirmed mutual intent to cooperate and aim together at increasing security in Europe.

The Turkish foreign minister also confirmed hope for political, economic and cultural cooperation between his country and Poland. He added that he found President Walesa's political viewpoints and assessments to be very valuable.

Drzycimski Discusses Presidential Powers

WS1103161493 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 8 Mar 93

[Studio interview with President Walesa's Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski, by Andrzej Pawel Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Was the president prepared to dissolve the parliament if the Sejm had not adopted the budget several weeks ago.

[Drzycimski] Yes, he was. He believes that the budget is the most important issue. It depends on the two other factors in the so-called Bermuda Triangle, meaning the government and the parliament. If there is no possibility of cooperation and policy coordination, as the president has so many times stressed, there is no possibility of implementing anything. He made it clear before the election that the deputies should take this into consideration.

[Woyciechowski] What was next in the president's plan? What would have happened had the parliament been dissolved in line with the new constitution?

[Drzycimski] Well, there is the three-month pre-election period; the election must be prepared within three months, and should be held in four months at the latest. And well, of course, this is... [pauses] What would happen next? The political scene would have probably been divided even more. The right wing would have had to make considerable organizational efforts to take part in the election as a more unified group. The divided parties would have had to unite, various fronts would have had to have been established. New cards would have had to been dealt, but....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] How new? To what extent, do you think, the parliament would have changed?

[Drzycimski] For sure, those groups that were in opposition to the government would probably have gained the most. However, it would have also been a signal for the political elites that one has to be more realistic when it comes to politics. One may often get the impression that the political elites—the so-called Polish political class, as they are sometimes labeled, which appeared in 1989 after the Round Table negotiations— are often preoccupied with internal political arrangements at the expense of social problems which matter to the people. One often gets the impression, and I have already talked about this, that issues discussed in Warsaw lose their significance once you leave the city.

[Woyciechowski] What is a presidential government? For some time now, some politicians, for instance Bujak yesterday, have been saying that the presidential government in the Polish conditions would perhaps not be a bad solution after all.

[Drzycimski] According to the Constitution, a presidential government can be formed when there is a political crisis. In a given situation, the Little Constitution allows for such a government to function for a period of six months. However, I think that this is a more remote matter....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Does the president appoint the premier and the ministers?

[Drzycimski] The president appoints the premier. Generally speaking, the Little Constitution, which is frequently forgotten, has revised the relationship between the government and the president. The prime minister and the president appoint ministers, and the president has the say whether or not he approves every minister in the government. This contradicts the former situation, in which the Sejm approved and recalled every candidate for the ministerial post. We have already seen the example of the minister of culture, where the president did not approve the first candidate, but approved the second candidate. Under the new Constitution, the new minister for the first time swore an oath before the president. This is a new situation which allows the prime minister and the president to execute his powers more efficiently. This is extremely important for the prime minister, because it shortens the method of appointing and recalling ministers, which is often very difficult.

[Woyciechowski] Is this designed, as some people are saying, to take away some power from the Sejm and give it to the president?

[Drzycimski] Yes, in this area it does. However, in another area it is the president who has lost his powers. For example, the president can no longer introduce the motion to dissolve the government.

[Woyciechowski] Did you get a letter from minister Rokita yesterday? Today's Gazeta Wyborcza writes on the first page about Rokita's letter to the Belvedere.

[Drzycimski] I do not know about such letter, but maybe I will find out when I return to....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] It concerns Markiewicz. Rokita accuses the Belvedere of appointing Markiewicz as chairman of the council [National Council for Radio and Television]. According to the regulations, however, the chairman must be chosen from among the council members. He feels that the president should have asked the prime minister, or presented a proposal. Would you like to comment on this?

[Drzycimski] Yes, because I think this is a big misunderstanding. The president proposed, and the word propose has a clear meaning, it means quite clearly that no formal and legal actions have yet been made. That is, no

document has been signed indicating that deputy Marek Markiewicz has become the chairman. This formal requirement will be met when the entire council is appointed. The president gave a signal that this is his candidate, and this candidate should be appointed chairman.

[Woyciechowski] Why was the president in such hurry to do this? Is it true that Markiewicz and Zaorski have conflicting views concerning television?

[Drzycimski] No, no, it is a different story. Why has he been in such a hurry? Because this is the most vital matter. What is most important is the fact that the president gave a signal. Let us stop delaying things. Time is very important at the moment. As soon as the law went into efffect, the first day the law went into effect, the president wanted to make it clear that he would like for this problem to be solved. You probably know that it looked as if this issue would be delayed for months. You, Radio Zet, are interested in resolving this matter; others are also waiting. The president is also anxious to put an end to the legal mess in the information media, radio and television as quickly as possible. For this reason, among others, the council is needed. The president, while proposing the candidacy of Marek Markiewicz, implied to others who were to decide about the membership of the National Council that they should begin to perform their duties as soon as possible. What is more, he asked deputy Marek Markiewicz to take actions which could expedite the whole process. As far as I know, the Senate approved the proposal, and I hope the Sejm will soon follow suit. Hopefully, we will have the entire National Council ready. The council is necessary for normal functioning, in order to prevent the issue of piracy from becoming the number one topic in the Polish media.

[Woyciechowski] A few words on the case of Wojciech D. [Dobrzynski] Do you think he took it or not?

[Drzycimski] Oh, I do not know. A court of law should decide. I hope, however, that all the things brought up by the prosecutor will be confirmed in a court of law. I also hope that this and other similar cases will be settled in a court of law. The courts have been established for this purpose.

[Woyciechowski] Has President Walesa recently changed the concept of his office in the Belvedere? He has been holding fewer meetings with politicians and ministers; he has been travelling and conducting meetings. Has he embarked on another election campaign?

[Drzycimski] No, not an election campaign, because the president does not need any election campaign. The president has been wanting to draw attention to something else. Namely the fact that the reform in Poland is difficult; it will not always be properly explained to the people; and the people will not always understand it. It so happens that the government, which is busy with current executive issues, and the parliament, which is preoccupied with some internal problems and the entire legislative process, have put aside the problem of informing the people. The president can see the tremendous danger that the political class, preoccupied with political problems, is forgetting that politics must be supported by the people. The president is hinting at two things. Firstly, he would like to focus his attention on the cooperation with the parliament and the government; secondly, he wants to talk more with the people. The political elites do not always reflect the social moods. If one wants to be effective, one must better understand what is going on below. The president has already given the signal. There has been one meeting; another one was supposed to be held last week. It was put off because of the president's health. On Wednesday, there will be another meeting, with the National Committee. One can expect more such meetings. The president wants to hold these meetings not only because he seeks to familiarize himself with the problems of a given plant. He would also like to know the mood of the people who work in a situation that is quite new, even in the economic sense.

There are a number of successful enterprises. They have overcome their crises, and such matters are rarely discussed. Most often we discuss or present the darkest examples, examples of failure. If one gets information from the media, one can often get the impression that there is nothing positive. However, if we were to take a closer look at the development of our economy; if we evaluate it from this perspective, we can easily see that something has started, and that we are making progress. The president would like to point to these things, because it is reassuring; it shows that we can make it; it shows that we have not only small, but also big achievements. It is for these reasons that the president seeks such contacts with the people.

It is by no means an election campaign because had the president decided to campaign, he would have established a political party to expedite solutions. The president would like to attain something else. He is seeking to unite the political and social forces to implement the fundamental plan. This is similar to what happened in Spain. Spanish political parties and trade unions concluded some kind of a pact. It was a political pact which included a few economic items which were considered to be the most fundamental rules that could not be violated. It was this agreement that caused the Spanish economy to start moving. We now also need this kind of an agreement. An agreement which we could call a movement in favor of reforms.

Well, anyway, what is in the name. We need something that would support the implementation of reforms. Despite the fact that we have achieved much, we often do not know how to take advantage of it to benefit the people, and particularly the average citizen of this country. Achievements are often diluted, either on the legislative path, on the executive path, or in the way the political coalition is functioning in Poland. All of this serves to dilute our achievements. It is, of course, an achievement which requires a lot of sacrifice, an achieveement that requires hard work. It all is necessary for us, however, to be able to realize that while we

achieve something, we also must share it with the people. The results should be seen among the people.

[Woyciechowski] Do you often come across the phrase: Another war in high places? Seeing all the attacks on the president, seeing some people who have embarked on election campaigns, do you not get the impression that today in Poland we are witnessing another war in high places?

[Drzycimski] I will say it differently. I do not know whether this is another war, because one has to say first... [pauses] Well, this is the overtone of what you have said; one has to say, first of all, that the president did not want the first war. He appealed many times: Let us go together, let us make this progress together. Some meetings the president had talked about. However, what is happening now is an attempt at something else. I would even go further to say that it is an attempt to destabilize the center of authority. It is supposed to make it possible to gain power as the result of populist solutions, and at any cost. This is a serious threat. I understand the meaning of a political fight. This I understand. I understand that there are different arrangements that can say: Your time is over, we are organizing an election, and the new cards are dealt. This is understandable. If the people and the nation supports it, it becomes clear. However, when we establish some rules, when we establish certain democratic institutions, and when we assume that it has a given scope of activities, then we must observe these rules in a certain way. If, however, we treat the rules selectively, that is, when we say that they should be observed by others and not by ourselves, then it becomes questionable whether these groups are mature enough for democracy. I sometimes get the impression that all the noise has been raised in order to draw attention to various slogans. All of this has taken place in an atmosphere characterized by someone's failure in democracy, the disintegration of parties, the break up of clubs, the departure of party members. In such a situation, one can draw attention to himself using slogans which attack the president. It is well-known that the president is a symbol of all the current transformations. I will not say whether he can or cannot. As far as the people are concerned, however, he can decide everything. But he cannot, and this has often been mentioned, he cannot influence the government, and he cannot....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] That is right. I would like to talk about it. At the president's meetings, just like at the president's last meeting in the Gdansk Shipyard, the scenarios of those meetings are always very similar to each other. Workers, people who take the floor, attack the Sejm, the government. Then the president replies: I would like to do it, but I cannot, because I have too little power. Does President Walesa have too little power?

[Drzycimski] No, no, it is not that he has too little power. It was not said like this. It was... [pauses] We have to answer the fundamental question: How should the system of authority look? Because this is the number one issue. If we agree to have a parliamentary system, then there is not much room for the president. If that is the case, let us not expect the president to be the executor. If we agree, however, to have a presidential system, then we should expect the president to be the prime mover behind the transformations.

[Woyciechowski] Minister, what kind of system should we have in Poland?

[Drzycimski] Certainly it must be a system which combines Polish traditions with some recent experiences. This has not yet acquired its final shape. It is for this reason, among others, that the preparation of the constitution is so difficult, because we have not quite agreed whether it should be the presidential or the parliamentary system. It seems that what is now happening indicates that the executive powers should be consolidated. This is because we are not taking advantage of many of our achievements at a time when they should be implemented.

Theoretically, we are often very good. We have had successes, achievements; we are seen as the people, the nation, the country that has made great progress. We are the leaders. We are looked upon as the model solution. However, we ourselves can see that many issues stop somewhere at the executive level. The problem here is not to [word indistinct], not to hide the parliament on the other side, somewhere behind the curtain. No, on the contrary. The parliament should have the time to quietly assess what is being done. We understand that democracy chooses a certain way, in a great dispute, in a fight, by means of all the democratic methods that are allowed. However, when democracy says that this can be implemented, then let us say that we will implement it with a firm resolve. Well, but the situation in Poland is as follows: Democratic fight is transferred to the executive sphere, this results in the mixing of spheres, as it were. We cannot achieve what we could achieve. If democracy pointed to a given issue and said: This must be implemented, then we should implement it with firm consistency. And [word indistinct] began, among other things, about the National Council for Radio and Television. This is one of the trifling examples. We argued three years. We made certain decisions; we agreed that the shape should be as it is. We finished a certain stage of discussion. Now, firm, consistent implementation should start. This is what the president suggested.

[Woyciechowski] Is there too much democracy in Poland?

[Drzycimski] At times yes, there is. In the sense that a democracy that aims to create the entire atmosphere cannot be implemented. The danger is that the people can turn their backs on democracy, and start screaming about the need for dictatorial solutions, which are not wanted by anyone. As you have noticed, the president has said many times that we must learn through democracy. At the same time, however, we must also say to ourselves that there is a certain stage in this learning process where one has to pass an examination. We are

now being tested. All these demonstrations are also a test. It is the answer of the people, the parliament, the political parties, and also of the so-called political class. I often doubt whether this class has passed its test, because we are witnessing a phenomenon of certain people seeing only themselves, and paying too little attention to the people's expectations. That is why the president often goes beyond the current political arrangement. He does not want to be restricted by any political arrangement. He talks with people, because, as I have said, we have a chance only if the people accept us. Otherwise, we will lose.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you very much.

[Drzycimski] Thank you.

Head of Privatization Committee Appointed

LD1103164993 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Premier Hanna Suchocka on Thursday appointed Deputy Privatisation Minister Jerzy Drygalski head of an inter-ministerial committee to oversee the implementation of that section of the "state enterprise pact" that deals with privatisation.

"The scale of the programme is unprecedented. Within six months, 4,000 state-run enterprises will stand a chance of choosing their own privatisation path," Drygalski told journalists following a meeting with Hanna Suchocka. He stressed that only 500 enterprises had become state-treasury owned companies over the past three years.

Drygalski claimed that the success of the operation is in the hands of the sejm. He added that time is the key factor, because negotiations have been delayed and a further delay may bring about dissatisfaction of the negotiation partners.

Deputy Labour and Social Affairs Minister Michal Boni said that the draft "pact-related" bills should be sent to the Sejm by early April.

Lithuania Post Incident Protested

LD1103221393 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[No video available]

[Text] The Polish border services have protested the behavior of Lithuanian police officers at the Ogrodniki-Lazdijai border crossing. Last Saturday [6 March], Lithuanian policemen from the antiterrorist brigade drew their guns against a Polish customs officer, and tried to force him to allow through a car carrying smuggled cigarettes.

[Unidentified correspondent] Joint Polish-Lithuanian customs controls take place at the Ogroniki crossing. This means that travellers entering Poland are checked on the Lithuanian side.

Last Saturday, at about 0200, armed policemen from the Lithuanian antiterrorist brigade demanded that the Polish customs officer allow a car carrying cigarettes into Poland.

[Unidentified person] The customs officer did not allow the car carrying the cigarettes onto Polish territory and turned it back across the border to the Lithuanian side. Officials from this special unit encircled him, guns drawn against him, trying to force him to change his mind.

[Correspondent] After an intervention on the part of the Polish side the Lithuanian policemen left the crossing.

Yesterday, in Ogrodniki, representatives of the Polish customs control services handed over an official protest against the ever more frequent attempts to bring pressure to bear on customs officers. The Lithuanian side issued a statement that it would guarantee the safety of Polish customs officers and that the perpetrators of this incident would be punished.

Government To Receive EC Aid for Environment

LD1103204793 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—Poland is to receive 18 million ECU [European Currency Unit] in European Community assistance in the development of her environmental policy, under the terms of a Polish-EC memorandum signed in Warsaw on Thursday.

Minister for Environmental Protection Zygmunt Hortanowicz told reporters that the agreement, funded through the EC "Phare" programme, would be used to support a system of resource management and investment.

Of the total, 5 million ECU would be allocated to assist in the implementation of the governments environmental protection policy, and 12 million ECU would be used for investment in selected projects, either as grants, or as loans granted both on a preferential and a commercial basis. The remaining 1 million ECU is to be used for technical support.

Alexander Dijckmeester, representative of the commission of the European Communities in Warsaw, said that in his opinion, the funds should be used to reduce the emissions of poisonous gases, and for the protection of water and woodland resources.

Official Opposes Breaking Arms Embargoes

AU1203100193 Warsaw PAP in English 1541 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—It is not in Poland's interest to sell arms to regions covered by United Nations embargoes, Jan Strauss, director of the Central Board of Engineering at the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, said today.

"If we were to sell arms to countries covered by embargoes, it would be contrary to our economic interests, since the IMF and the World Bank do not advance credits to countries engaged in illegal arms dealing," he said.

Commenting on cases in recent months where Polish arms producers have been seen to be seeking arms deals with Iraq and the countries of the former Yugoslavia, Strauss suggested that these were mishaps resulting from a lack of experience on the part of Polish arms producers.

This opinion is shared by Col. Jerzy Kade, director of the Arms Department at the Ministry of Industry and Trade. "Poland's arms producers were unhappy at the sales monopoly of the Central Board of Engineering, but they themselves have neither experts, nor experience."

Col. Kade added that, after restructuring of the Polish arms industry, it should not pass into foreign control. "The sovereignty of the state must be maintained," he said. He called for a state bank to undertake financing of the arms industry, "since foreign capital could become involved with privatised banks."

Most arms industry experts recognise that Polish arms producers urgently require the introduction of new technology, if the industry is to regain former export markets lost with the fall of communism in 1989. But Wladyslaw Szewczyk of the state-owned arm trading organisation "Cenzin" pointed out that export orders cannot replace the domestic market. There have been no orders for the domestic market since 1992, he noted.

Teachers Union Critical of Modernization Program

AU1203100493 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—The government's decision to approve the Education Ministry's draft programme for a radical overhaul of the Polish school system without consulting the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP) has "upset" the union's authorities and teachers, head of the ZNP Jan Zaciura told a press conference today.

"Such conduct has the attributes of a provocation on the part of the government," he added.

The ZNP chairman stressed, however, that the union will sign the document as it is not an anti-reformatory force.

Zaciura claimed that the programme, called "a good, modern school," is partly "utopian wishful thinking."

Education Ministry spokesman Wojciech Krzysztoforski said however that he does not agree with the union's criticism of the programme and denied that the document had not been consulted with the union.

In a released statement, Krzysztoforski stated that the controversy does not help create good atmosphere for talks.

EBRD To Grant Loans to Small Businesses

LD1103130393 Warsaw PAP in English 1222 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) will grant loans to small and medium-sized businesses in Poland, the EBRD delegation on a visit to Poland said at a meeting with Minister for Business Promotion Zbigniew Eysmont on Thursday.

The bank, which has already approved a 300 million ecu credit for big investment in Poland, decided to assist smaller enterprises as well, but has declined to name the concrete amount of money it is ready to earmark for that.

A considerable amount of the EBRD's financial aid, however, is not used by Poland as many businessmen are unaware of the possibility to draw credits and banks are afraid of taking decisions, Jerzy Loch from the Ministry for Business Promotion explained.

Fuel Prices Reportedly To Increase in 1993

LD1103150293 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The prices of fuels will be increased three times this year, spokesman for the state oil distributor (CPN) Ryszard Gluszczyk said on Thursday. The fuels will get dearer by 8 per cent in April and August, respectively, and there will be a 6 per cent increase in November.

Deputy Chairman of the Polish Vehicles Owners' Party Jerzy Pomianowski said that inflation is fuelled by the growing costs of fuels. "The situation is alarming because the price of crude oil on world's markets is dropping."

Pomianowski called for a public debate on the issue and claimed that the government has to admit that the increase "is one of the attempts to fill the budget gap."

Transport Strike Ends; Farm Protest Announced

LD1103232493 Warsaw PAP in English 2312 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Katowice, March 11—The employees of the bus municipal transport in Katowice, Sosnowiec and Tychy staged a four-hour warning strike on Thursday morning between 0400 hrs and 0800hrs.

The protesters demanded payment for transport services, stabilization of employment unchanged and a plan of subsidies distribution.

Chairman of the "Samoobrona" (Self-Defence) Farmers Union Andrzej Lepper on Thursday told reporters that a national protest action will be staged on April 2. He justified the decision saying that the government does not want to talk with the union while the situation of the country is dramatically deteriorating.

Lepper disclosed that the union activists on Thursday appealed to parliament to dissolve both chambers and hold new elections.

Thirteen former workers of a seed production and distribution plant in Grudziadz, Torun province, ended their week-long strike after having got their overdue wages, protesters representative Slawomir Perzewski disclosed on Thursday.

The national section of education and upbringing of the Solidarity Union said it was alarmed at the agreement between the Education Ministry and the Polish Teachers Union (ZNP) reached without previous consultations with all educational circles, the section chairman Stefan Klubowicz said on Thursday.

Milczanowksi Refuses To give Sejm Information

WS1203140393 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 12 Mar 93

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] Andrzej Milczanowski, minister of internal affairs, refused to disclose to the Sejm Subcommittee for the File Reviewing Bill the text of the instruction No. 0041/72 of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In his letter to the subcommittee, he wrote that the instruction describes the methods of work of intelligence, as well as the rules for agents recruitment. According to Milczanowski, the information in the instruction, which is labeled as secret and of special importance, is universal in the work of intelligence in all countries, regardless of their political systems. According to the subcommittee deputies, the instruction is necessary for them to be able to formulate a clear definition of a secret collaborator of communist special services in the bill.

Szwonder Extradition Delayed; Demonstration Organized

WS1203095093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 0800 GMT 12 Mar 93

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] Rajmund Szwonder's extradition from Germany to the United States will not take place this week. The Polish and German foreign ministers agreed that Szwonder would take additional medical tests.

Today the Committee for the Defense of Rajmund Szwonder is going to organize a demonstration in Warsaw, near the German and American Embassies.

Security Service Arrests Uranium Dealers

AU1103134793 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Mar 93 p 1

[Piotr Adamowicz, Piotr Wysocki report: "Office for the Protection of the State Arrest Uranium Dealers"]

[Text] Three inhabitants of the Gdansk-Gdynia-Sopot urban area (they are all about 50 years old) attempted to sell radioactive materials for about $125,000 dollars. They were arrested in an apartment bloc on Morska Street in Gdynia on Friday [5 March]. One of them is a former Security Service functionary. The Gdansk agency of the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] learned about the sale of the radioactive material using operational methods, we were told by circles close to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"A defectoscope weighing 6 kg encased in metal and bearing warning markings indicating that it contains dangerous radioactive material was confiscated along with some highly radioactive uranium oxide 238," is what Gdynia District Prosecutor Janusz Kaczmarek told ZYCIE.

The prosecutor declined to supply any other details. He only confirmed the fact that the three were being held in temporary detention.

The head of the Gdansk UOP agency, Major Adam Hodysz, also refused to discuss the details of the operation and only confirmed that it had taken place.

ZYCIE was able to find out that the level of radioactivity of the half a kg of uranium oxide 238 in powder form was several hundred times above the safe level. The three people arrested had kept it in a plastic bag. "If it had gotten into the ground," our contact told ZYCIE, "it would have been practically impossible to eliminate the contamination."

The confiscated radioactive material has been taken to a Warsaw institute where, following detailed tests, it will be possible to ascertain its origins. An initial suspicion is that it was brought to Gdynia from one of the states of the former Soviet Union.

Trial of Former Communist Officials Begins

AU1203100093 Warsaw PAP in English 1314 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Katowice, March 10—The trial of twenty-four persons accused of shooting at miners of two collieries in southern region of Silesia in December 1981 started at the regional court in Katowice today. The defendants,

mostly policemen and employees of the former riot police and police special brigades, are responsible for the deaths of 9 miners of the "Wujek" coal mine.

Former minister of internal affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak, who is among the defendants, submitted a doctor's certificate confirming that his health makes it impossible for him to participate in court proceedings at least for the next 3-4 months.

The tragedy happened after miners went on strike to protest against the introduction of martial law on December 13, 1981. The then interior ministry decided to use force in pacifying the miners, first in Jastrzebie, at the "Manifest Lipcowy" mine, where 4 miners were wounded. A day later police decided to use reinforced divisions including tanks at the "Wujek" mine in Katowice. Nine people were shot dead in the action while 49 were wounded.

Public Sector Workers Stage Nationwide Protest

LD1203162693 Warsaw PAP in English 1439 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Public sector workers on Friday held a nationwide action in protest against government cuts in spending on health-care, education and culture and planned mass lay-offs in the budget-financed sector.

Flags were hoisted at factories, education establishments and health-care centres of several southeastern and northern provinces. Information leaflets were also disseminated.

A street demonstration will be held in Warsaw on Friday afternoon.

Strike ballots are held in schools in the Wloclawek, Wroclaw and Legnica provinces, while a regional solidarity education section in Bydgoszcz is contemplating closing schools or working to rule.

Tyminski Wants To Reveal 'Black Briefcase' on TV

AU1203100793 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 10—Leader of Party X Stanislaw Tyminski announced today that he was in possession of files of a former communist secret service (SB) agent code-named "Bolek," and identified him as President Lech Walesa. He said he wants to reveal to the public on Polish TV the contents of his "black briefcase," allegedly containing documents compromising President Lech Walesa.

Tyminski made his revelation during a conversation with Polish Radio's Programme Three, which he told that "Mr Bolek is undoubtedly the same person as Citizen Walesa." According to Tyminski, graphological analysis has proved that the materials incriminating Walesa are authentic.

The Party X leader disclosed that he had paid 200 dollars for the analysis done by experts in Canada. He also admitted that he had been in contact with DZIENNIK CHICAGOWSKI ("CHICAGO DAILY") which published photocopies of alleged receipts for SB officers written by "Bolek". Tyminski refused to state whether he was the man who conveyed the materials to the paper's editors. He was firm, however, that the materials were genuine.

He also stated that he has decided to reveal the content of the documents only now since earlier there was no favourable atmosphere to do so.

Tyminski declared that his "black briefcase" also contains materials relating to the 1990 presidential campaign in Poland.

Meanwhile, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told the radio station "Eska" today that the documents of the secret agent code-named "Bolek" may have been fabricated abroad.

Drzycimski did not entirely rule out the possibility that these documents had been fabricated in Poland by the former communist security service. However, since this allegation is denied by General Wojciech Jaruzelski, one can suppose that the documents may have been fabricated outside of Poland, he stated.

On Tuesday [9 March], the deputy leader of Party X, Jozef Kossecki, had addressed a letter to Polish TV stating that Stanislaw Tyminski "requests an opportunity to open publicly his black briefcase in the first programme (live) of Polish TV."

Asked to comment on the issue, chairman of the Radio and TV Committee Janusz Zaorski had said that he cannot give a positive answer to a request formulated in such an enigmatic way. He added that first he would have to learn about the contents of the mysterious "black briefcase."

Zaorski also noted that in line with the new radio and TV law operating as of March 1, "X-rated programmes" can be broadcast only between 2300 and 0600. "And how should I know what sensational materials the leader of Party X intends to show us," he asked.

Commentary Welcomes New IMF Agreement

AU1103135393 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 Mar 93 p 1

[Untitled Jacek Kalabinski commentary]

[Text] At IMF headquarters in Washington, it is being said that the renewal of the agreement with Poland is the

result of "the heroic efforts" of the Polish Government and "a large measure of goodwill" on the part of the fund.

The agreement opens the way to the second stage in reducing our debts with the Paris Club, which groups together creditor states. Two years ago we concluded an agreement with the club to reduce the debt by 30 percent with the prospect of a further 20-percent reduction if Poland keeps within the economic parameters set by the IMF.

The fund decision also strengthens Poland's position in the negotiations that were started with the London Club a month ago. If the Paris Club writes off half of Poland's debt, the Polish negotiators will be able to apply to the London Club for a similar reduction. Obtaining that will, of course, be very difficult, but following an agreement with the IMF, it is already more likely.

The agreement also means that there is a possibility of obtaining loans from the World Bank for over $700 million.

Situation of Lithuanian Poles 'Not Easy'

AU1203101193 Warsaw PAP in English 2216 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 11—The situation of Poles in Lithuania is still not easy although certain favorable factors can be recorded, chairman of the "Wspolnota Polska" ("Polish Community") Andrzej Stelmachowski said today. The statement follows Stelmachowski's visit to Lithuania from 3 to 7 March 3.

He stressed that the situation of Poles there is still far from being clear due to the manipulations of Lithuanian authorities in recent elections to Polish councils, a fact that has been confirmed by representatives of the currently ruling Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania. "Owing to these manipulations, a Polish local government cannot be set up," he said.

Among favorable factors, Stelmachowski pointed to the efforts to create the Polish University in Vilnius and the advanced level of construction work on the Polish school at the outskirts of Vilnius.

Stelmachowski called for assistance to Polish farmers living in Lithuania by providing them with agricultural equipment and seed- grain. He explained that they are stranded after the dissolution of large state-owned farms.

Article Reviews Walesa-Solidarity Relationship

AU1103180993 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Mar 93 p 2

[Article by Bernadeta Waszkielewicz: "If The President Were To Say 'Do It!'"]

[Excerpts] "If in six months time there are still no decisions and you are still not satisfied, I will have to tour the country with you and ask for a new election platform in order to win a parliamentary election," President Lech Walesa said on 28 February during a meting with the employees of Department W-4 of the Gdansk Shipyard, where he used to work as an electrician. Six months have passed since then. On Wednesday [11 March], the president will attend a meeting of the Solidarity National Commission. He will probably investigate ways of whipping up support for himself within Solidarity.

The president is fond of reminding everyone that he came out of Solidarity and was its first chairman. At a meeting of the Solidarity parliamentary club before the budget vote, he complained that the National Commission never invites him to its meetings. He has met with his former shipyard colleagues several times, and told them that his roots lie in the shipyard and that he will never forget that. He is exploiting Solidarity's ever-decreasing cadre base—he has just appointed Solidarity Deputy Marek Markiewicz chairman of the National Radio and Television Council. He likes inviting trade unionists to breakfast. He talks to experts belonging to the Interfactory "Network" because "they are the ones who are preparing solutions." A frequent guest at the Belvedere is Jan Rulewski, mediator between the groups in the present government and the Belvedere. The president also meets Solidarity Mazowsze Chapter chief Maciej Jankowski and Wojciech Arkuszewski, who has fallen out of favor in this chapter.

Solidarity Chairman Maciej Krzaklewski insists that Solidarity does not want to act as a backdrop for any party, especially if that party represents one of the centers of authority. Krzaklewski does not clearly say how the union is going to behave under his chairmanship, but he reckons that Walesa, well aware of the moods inside the union, will never ask for Solidarity support for a presidential party. [passage omitted]

Maciej Jankowski approaches the question of Solidarity support for a presidential party with caution. According to him, people in the Mazowsze chapter are fed up with the idea of such a party. "If there were a presidential party with a clear program and considerable funds, one might consider supporting it," says Jankowski. "But Solidarity is an independent union, and no longer has any purpose in supporting faces or intentions. That period of history is finished," he says.

Opposition Parties Officially Enter Censure Motion

AU1203142693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1329 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—Ludovic Orban, a deputy and member of the Steering Committee of the Liberal Party informed a ROMPRES editor that Friday, 12 March, at 1330, the parliamentary opposition parties brought before the two chambers' standing bureaus a motion for a no-confidence vote.

Cabinet Members Defend Reform

AU1103204593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2009 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/3/1993—Taking the floor at the Thursday, 11 March joint session of the Romanian Parliaments' chambers, State Minister Misu Negritoiu, head of the Council for Economic Coordination, Strategy and Reform, defended the government programme presented one week before in Parliament by Premier Vacaroiu as "a document having the features of a programme, not of a doctrine, clearly defining the reform." Misu Negritoiu explained that in developing its strategy, the government relied on the electoral programme of the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN), and that it should be regarded as "an emergency short-term programme." He rejected the objections made by senators and members who found it as lacking precise aims and concrete, clear measures. He insisted on the state's intervention in the economy, pleading for this approach as a necessity of the transitional phase, as a "surgical intervention" mainly aimed at "ending inefficiency." For that purpose, incongruities in the economic system should be done away with before anything else. This requires the help of the state because "the transition cannot be expected to occur spontaneously, consequently the state must assume the responsibility of implementing the reform and of instating the free market economy."

Labour and Social Welfare Minister Dan Mircea Popescu termed the government's social policy as a "fundamental component of the reform strategy. Its major aims are to ensure a decent living standard and set up an efficient social insurance system." He denied the government's alleged intention to dictate its terms in wage policies but argued that wage rises should be correlated of necessity with the growth of labour productivity. He rejected the proposal that retirement limit age should be reduced, on account of "an alarmingly growing rate of retirements, which society will no longer be able to sustain."

Finance Minister Florin Georgescu defined the cabinet's fiscal, budget and price policies as pursuing "to stimulate entrepreneurship" and "maintain budget deficit within controllable limits." He assuaged fears among tax payers saying the government did not intend to increase fiscality in future.

Health Minister Iulian Mincu described the efforts to regain credibility for the public health sector as marred by grave trends such as a diminishing birth rate, growing death rate, dramatic recourse to abortion, the decay of hospital endowment, the fall of the national pharmaceutical industry and others. Minister Mincu spelt out the government's resolution to support the privatisation of the health care system through low-interest long-term credits.

Dumitru Popescu, minister of industries, quoted as a positive trend the growth lately of the national production of energy resources, such as coal and crude. He made a point of saying that the revigoration of the Romanian industry required either the shut-down or redimensioning of inefficient production units, a closer cooperation with the banking system, priority credits to prospectively successful branches, gradual reduction of subsidies, own-resource investments.

Education Minister Liviu Maior said the reform of the educational system started with "freeing it of the communist ideology," just to see that it now is the object of "multiple ideologization," a tendency the minister labelled as "very serious" and as sharpening the crisis the system is now struggling with.

Food and Agriculture Minister Ion Oancea informed that about 60,000 ownership certificates had been handed to their holders, with the prospect of furthering the action to the satisfaction of one third of title deed bearers by the end of 1993. He expressed the executive's point of view that privatisation "should be total in the farming and food industry sectors."

Transport Minister Paul Teodoru stated the priority targets of his ministry for this year: To stop the degradation of the transport system and make it modern and profitable, with the aid of foreign capital for ample investment projects.

Public Works Minister Marin Cristea renewed his ministry's resolution to tackle, in spite of enormous financial hardships, the yet unfinished projects, first on the list among them being housing units.

National Defence Minister Niculae Spiroiu elaborated on the government's concept of national security system, pointing out that there was no intention to change the subordination system of certain military forces.

Justice Minister Petre Ninosu accused the opposition that choosing to express a sometimes "devastating" criticism against the government's programme was far from proving constructive. As for the opposition's demand that the government should ask for a renewed vote of confidence Petre Ninosu said nothing motivated such a request, and that only a situation of crisis could compel the executive to engage its responsibility. He accused the opposition of having intended by this move just to panic the electorate and hurt Romania's image abroad.

Parties React to Motion

AU1103172693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpts] At the joint session of the two Parliament chambers in Bucharest today, Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and several members of his cabinet answered questions put by senators and deputies in the 9 March joint session, which dealt with the report on the first 100 days of government and the government's strategy of economic and social reform. [passage omitted]

At the end of the proceedings, by virtue of his right to reply, Mr. Corneliu Coposu, senator and leader of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, announced that the opposition will enter a motion of censure emphasizing that—quote—although Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and his government obtained the necessary mandate and trust, no such trust was granted to this program, which was conceived thereafter. [passage omitted]

The Civic Alliance Party [PAC] will vote in favor of the censure motion, but will not be among its initiators, PAC President Nicolae Manolescu said at a weekly news conference today, adding that this decision was taken by the party's National Committee. According to our reporter, both Mr. Nicolae Manolescu and Messrs. Emil Tocaci and Stelian Tanase explained the decision by the fact that the PAC parliamentarians want to keep the free option of submitting themselves to a motion of censure, if necessary, during the current parliamentary session. In the opinion of Mr. Stelian Tanase, PAC vice president, the most opportune time for such a motion is after the government cuts off all subsidies, that is in June or July.

This afternoon, at the biweekly news conference held at the headquarters of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the party's leadership emphasized that the strategy presented by the government contains serious economic inconsistencies, that ignore Romanian realities. Therefore, UDMR considers the filing of the censure motion as justified. [passage omitted]

UDMR Agrees With Motion

AU1103182793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1752 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1993—"We find the opposition's proposal for a vote of censure well grounded, as we do not agree with the political and economic alternative offered by the present government," Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) Member Laszlo Barbely told the press conference of Thursday, 11 March.

The UDMR-member parliamentarians motivated their adhesion to the vote of censure by having found "numerous shortcomings" in the Vacaroiu cabinet's programme and by its ignorance of the real state of the Romanian economy.

Relative to their meeting with the Council of Europe rapporteurs to Romania, the union members informed the press that they had pleaded for Romania's integration in the European structures starting from the belief that this would entail "additional guarantees for the minorities' rights."

"We think Romania is favorably appreciated in the Council of Europe, and that the country's constitution does ensure the observance of human rights, but important now is how the laws are to be enforced," Senator Gyorgy Frunda said.

PUNR Against Motion

AU1203090193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0734 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] will pronounce against a vote of non-confidence advanced in Parliament by the opposition, said Ioan Gavra, the Vice Chairman of the party, at the meeting with the press on 11 March. That action is doomed to failure from the very beginning, it is a mistake, Gavra said. Expressing his conviction that next week, when put under scrutiny, the vote of non-confidence will be rejected, he considered that "this will finally mean a compromising of the opposition, losing all their chances much easier to win in May or June," Gavra said. In context, Ioan Gavra appreciated as positive the position held by the Civic Alliance Party [PAC] by not adhering to the vote, proving itself a much reasonable party, and showing its interest in the fundamental issues of the country.

Gherman, Nastase Express 'Surprise'

AU1203122493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0943 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—Oliviu Gherman, Chairman of Romania's Senate showed his surprise over the statement made Thursday, 11 March, by Senator Corneliu Coposu (National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party—PNTCD) over a debate on the Nicolae Vacaroiu Government's program, and for its vote. Gherman made the following statement: "I have been surprised because, after the coherence of the answers given by the members of the executive and the material presented by the Government, I considered them as enough convincing not only for the opposition, but for the entire country, which means there is no clear reason to ask for a vote." Gherman reasserted an idea advanced during the debates, according to which, after the Government won the mandate "a statement of the opposition did exist, that is, of a constructive opposition." In his opinion, the consequences of such a vote would reflect negatively on the legislative process by delaying it with one more week, according to the rules of procedure implied by it.

The Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, Adrian Nastase, said that "the manner in which the vote was

announced after long debates over the documents presented by the Government are generating surprise, especially because at the start of the week, before the meeting of the two chambers of Parliament, when I suggested that if anyone intended to advance a vote, I said it had to be made before the debates for not obstructing the activity of the legislative on the next week." In his opinion, the opposition "counted on a psychological effect." Nastase also recalled the provisions of the Constitution according to which, the program of governing has to be put under scrutiny at the beginning of the mandate. The vote is to be advanced for further steps and further intentions, and if voted, having as a result the withdrawal of confidence, which means the resignation of the government.

Dailies Discuss Censure Motion

AU1203122793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 12 Mar 93

[From the 12 March Romanian press review]

[Excerpt] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—All Friday, March 12 dailies, write on the vote asked by the opposition on the program presented by the Vacaroiu team. EVENIMENTUL ZILEI considers it to be a historical moment, proving "the existence of a real democracy in Romania." CURIERUL NATIONAL assesses that by doing this, "the opposition counts on dividing the Democratic National Salvation Front, FDSN, in two," as many speculations have been made of late about the lack of cohesion of the ruling party, but their truth has never been proved. "But if the program is voted for, the Government will feel even more sure, at least until the autumn session, and the parties supporting it will have their questioned unity strengthened."

DIMINEATA [daily close to the presidency] writes that the political forces in Romania cannot offer something more concrete than the "strategy for economic and social reform of the Vacaroiu Government," even though certain parties of the opposition keep the executive under the "fire" of "non-constructive" criticism.

According to COTIDIANUL "the Government is threatened neither by the vote, nor by the intensifying pressure of the unions, but rather by its being unable to put its own program to work."

TINERETUL LIBER says that the vote can be nothing but a gesture, with no consequences in the political and the social-economic life, but apt to show "the political forces of the country interested in backing the reform and in a change in the Romanian society and the ones wanting only slow change or stagnation." [passage omitted]

Iliescu Reviews Politicial, Economic Gains

AU1103174393 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 9 Mar pp 1, 2, 3

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by unidentified Norwegian television reporter; place and date not given: "The Pace of Reform Is Determined by the Country's Resources and Concrete Possibilities and by the Degree to Which the Population Can Support the Deprivations Arising From This Complex Process"]

[Text] [Reporter] People in Norway do not know very much about Romania. Perhaps all that the Norwegians know are the images they saw at the time of the revolution. Since them, very little has been said about Romania. Therefore, this is why I would like for you to tell us something about Romania. Let us talk for a while about developments in Romania since the revolution. What are the positive aspects of this development, particularly in the economic sphere? We are also interested in Romanian relations with Norway and Western Europe in general. These are the first questions. Therefore, how, in your opinion, has Romania developed since the revolution?

[Iliescu] I would like to talk about two aspects of this process. I believe that the three years which have elapsed since December 1989 have marked a profound change in Romanian society. The face of Romanian society has changed radically. To begin with, I will describe a few of these changes. In government, the change has been from a totalitarian regime to a democratic one; from the political monopoly of a single party to a multiparty system; and from a totalitarian state to a democratic one, based on the principle of the separation of powers. This process was begun immediately after the 1989 revolution, with the elimination of the foundation of this totalitarian state.

Then followed a first stage of provisional measures and of stabilization of the state structures. These measures were taken within the framework of the Provisional National Unity Council, a body in which all the parties set up until they were represented. As a matter of fact, some 30 parties have been created in the January-February 1990 period, all represented in this council. We held the first democratic elections on 20 May 1990. The Provisional National Unity Council adopted an electoral law based on democratic principles. It took into consideration the fact that a large number of political parties, almost 100, had emerged in Romania by the time of the May elections. The elections were then held, after which a Parliament—consisting of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate—was formed; this Parliament also played the role of Constituent Assembly, since the main task of that period was working out the draft of the new, democratic Constitution.

That Parliament worked for two years. One and a half years were spent drafting the Constitution articles in a truly democratic way. This draft constitution was put together by a group of senators and deputies, with the

help of experts in the field, using as references the Constitutions already in force in Europe, the most modern ones. We also drew our inspiration from the historical experience of the Romanian state's organization. The members of the drafting group have had considerable international contact with experts in constitutional law. We also held an international seminar on this matter, where we discussed present trends in international constitutional law.

On this basis, we worked out the first draft constitution, which was published at the end of 1990 and submitted to public discussion for four to five months.

After the passage of these four to five months, the Parliament discussed the first draft constitution article by article. Almost 1,000 amendments were submitted for this first draft. Then followed the drafting of a revised version, which lasted for nine months altogether, which also included the proposed amendments. Afterward, the Parliament held a new discussion, which lasted two to three months, to finalize the draft constitution. Finally, at the end of 1991, the draft was approved by Parliament and a national referendum was organized to adopt the constitution. Consequently, the Constitution was adopted not only by Parliament, but also by the entire population of Romania.

One can say that this was the main task of the Parliament in 1990. At the same time, Parliament has adopted a series of new economic laws, some 200 of them. The laws discussed and adopted have contributed to a profound reform of the legislative system, regarding the activities and structures of various state institutions, particularly in economic reform. These laws dealt with various aspects connected with the transition from a centralized economy to a market economy. Therefore, the Parliament has had rich experience in this area.

On the basis of this Constitution and the new electoral law, we held local elections last year in February and we held general elections for the new parliament and presidential elections in September. We believe that in September-October 1992 we concluded this first period of general reorganization of society, especially as far as the political life and structure are concerned. Thus were laid the foundations for a new democratic state and a new democracy. Therefore, the past three years have been devoted to an ample process of political changes.

The second aspect is connected to the economic reform and the transition to market economy, which is a much more difficult and longer process. I have already mentioned the elaboration of a number of important laws—this legal process was very important—but at the same time, we had to face the problem of setting up new structures and institutions related to the market economy. I am talking about creating the appropriate banking and financial system, which should form the major instruments of a market economy. This is a much more difficult process because it is depends on specific aspects of the current stage of development.

We also carried out processes of internal reorganization, economic decentralization, and abolishing the previous economic system. These issues are connected to the fact that we did not have all the instruments required by a market economy.

On the other hand, we also had a number of difficulties connected with international developments, the dismantling of the CEMA system, which certainly had its drawbacks but which represented something in the system of international economic relations of these countries. As far as Romania is concerned, the CEMA represented an important source of raw material for us and an important market for our industrial products. Currently, our economy is faced with a number of problems because of a lack of resources—especially raw materials and energy—and the fact that we lost a number of markets for our industrial products. We feel this impact even more because the entire international economy is going through critical moments and recession and all economies are interested in selling and not buying. We can see these difficulties also in the economy of the United States and in general, there are difficulties in the economies of other developed countries.

Therefore, for our country in particular, the international situation represents a particular difficulty, even more so since we also have to face all the difficulties of the transition period. For example, our industrial production represents only half of the production achieved in 1989. Many jobs have ceased to exist, we have almost one million unemployed, and inflation is high. All these are new and major problems for us. As a result of all this, we could say that we have lived through a very difficult period and it seems that there are still many difficulties that we have to overcome.

Nevertheless, we are optimistic and we hope that this process of economic decline will stop in 1993 and this process of decreasing production will also stop. Now, particular efforts are being made to overcome the industrial crisis and to create appropriate conditions for reviving industrial production in the second half of this year.

Likewise, parallel with the reform process, efforts are being made to achieve the revival of the agricultural production and, in general, to create jobs in the economy.

The Parliament will resume its work with discussions on a number of laws in this area, while the economic reform will remain the major task for our country.

At the same time, a series of social issues are noteworthy, because the process of economic transition—primarily the increase of prices of consumer goods—affects the daily life of our people. Thus, a social protection program for the major categories of the people who are affected by these difficulties is required. As a matter of fact, this is one of the major tasks of the current government.

[Reporter] Mr. President, is it not true that liberalizing an economy creates or generates a new financial elite, while the rest of the population, financially speaking, falls behind?

[Iliescu] That is true. The transition process toward a market economy allows for the emergence of a minority which uses the difficult situation in order to become rich. As a matter of fact that aspect is one of our most controversial political issues. Certain people suggested, for instance, that a neoliberal policy should be implemented, with economic restructuring achieved through a shock therapy, but they ignored the most important fact, namely that we did not have the necessary financial resources to apply such a therapy. Owing to that, the speed of reform is limited by the concrete resources and potential of our country. We have to bear in mind the internal potential of our country and the limits of the population's readiness to put up with hardships that accompany reform. We had to choose a more realistic route, which combines the implementation of reform in the economy—that is, reorganization along market principles—and the consideration of the limits of our internal potential and of the social limits of reform.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what do you intend to do for Romania's children?

[Iliescu] That issue is one of the most important ones within the social protection measures I have mentioned. The older generation and the youth seems to be categories which were hit the hardest by the hardships accompanying reform. They seem to pay the highest price for the current transition period.

Considering all this, in the social protection programs that I mentioned we included a number of measures intended to counter that, although our main concern is still how to ensure the resources necessary for the state. Besides this, we intend to support the establishment of a sponsorship system, so that institutions and companies would allot resources to support children, especially those who do not receive sufficient support from their families, who do not even have families, and the handicapped. Our programs include measures to support a whole range of such categories of children this year and over subsequent years.

[Reporter] We would like to continue by discussing international issues, if you do not mind. How did the Yugoslav conflict, in your opinion, affect Romania?

[Iliescu] Directly. We are neighbors and Yugoslavia, particularly Serbia, has always been Romania's best neighbor throughout history. We have never had any conflicts in our history. What is even more, our neighborliness also prevailed during the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian occupations of our countries when we had to defend our national dignity. We have never had any political conflicts either. We have an old tradition of good economic and political relations. All this is one point of view.

Currently the Yugoslav conflict is an element of tension influencing the situation in this entire region of Europe. The United Nations embargo, which we pledged to observe, is also directly affecting us because Yugoslavia and Serbia were our best economic partners over the past years, with whom we had very close commercial ties. The cooperation between our companies and Serbian ones has now been blocked. That is why it lies in our interest that the Yugoslav conflict should be rapidly and politically solved and that the situation in that part of the world should return to normal as soon as possible.

[Reporter] By the way, how would you assess Romania's relations with the United Nations? In which direction would you like to develop them?

[Iliescu] Romania is an active member of the United Nations. Romania's envoy was chairman of the UN Security Council at the time of the Gulf war and we played an active role in the work of the Security Council. Our current role within the United Nations is also important and active, and is directed at maintaining peace and the creation of a new cooperation climate in the world.

We also believe that there favorable conditions have been created due to the elimination of the two blocs on our continent. This has created a generally suitable atmosphere for cooperation and for the integration process of all countries on the European continent. This is certainly not an easy process.

We maintain positive relations with the European organizations and work toward developing these relations within the Council of Europe. Currently there is concern about the possibility of recommending the inclusion of Romania as a member with full rights during the May session of the Ministerial Council.

We maintain positive relations with the Common Market; we have negotiated our associate status and Romania's association accord with the EC is going to be signed. We view all this as a move to create favorable conditions for developing our country's relations on the continent.

A number of barriers remain. The Iron Curtain has disappeared—from the ideological point of view and from that of political and military relations—but economic barriers are preserved. All countries have to make efforts to overcome these new barriers in order to create conditions for expanding cooperation among the countries on our continent, both in the West and the East. We are looking forward to the promotion of such new relations.

We are hopefully looking forward to halting the conflict in Yugoslavia. After the elimination of this conflict, we will have the opportunity to use the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal, which may contribute to integrating Western and Eastern European economies and provide a link to the countries in the Middle East. Thus, all these elements

could contribute to the creation of a new atmosphere on our continent and, in fact, throughout the world.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what kind of support would you expect from the Council of Europe for the democratic process in Romania?

[Iliescu] First we would like greater understanding and a more realistic approach to the problems in Romania; what I mean is, understanding of the real nature of the process that is taking place in Romania now, because it is a fact that a democratic process is under way in Romania and this democratization process is going ahead without any possibility of stopping. It is irreversible. We want to build a new and modern economy to be integrated into the European economy. This cannot be achieved without broad international cooperation. We want understanding on the part of all politicians and international groups in the West European countries in response to our opening toward that part of the world.

[Reporter] Mr. President, it seems to be a great desire of yours to link Romania to Western Europe. Do you view Romania as a future member of the EC?

[Iliescu] Surely, I hope so. This is not a simple process because integration into the EC is a difficult process linked to economic progress and the discrepancies between our economies. This also holds true for the economies of other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. There are difficulties and problems even within the EC linked to the Maastricht Treaty because there are discrepancies between the economies of the EC member countries themselves. However, we hope for active cooperation and for the development of our relations, and we hope to link our economic relations so as to make it possible for Romania to join the EC in the future. What is under way now is the process of our association with the EC. As I said before, we will sign the EC Association Treaty in Brussels.

[Reporter] Mr. President, are you optimistic about Romania?

[Iliescu] I have to be optimistic. The only chance for us is to be optimistic, we have no other solution. We are certainly going through a difficult process at this time. As a matter of fact, not only Romania, but numerous other countries in this part of Europe are having difficulties. I am talking of a general economic crisis. We hope to find proper solutions for these difficulties in order to create new chances for relaunching the Romanian economy and social activity in general.

[Reporter] Thank you, Mr. President.

[Iliescu] I hope we will have better relations with Norway. We view the visit by the minister in charge of social affairs as a sign of trust and of the desire for developing bilateral relations. We are following with keen interest the Norwegian experience in solving numerous economic and social problems and I believe that we will be able to develop our cooperation to the benefit of both sides. I want to take this opportunity to convey my best wishes to the Norwegian people.

[Reporter] Once again, I want to thank you. Would you like to add anything to what you have said so far?

[Iliescu] Yes, I would like to emphasize our desire for cooperation, bearing in mind that our countries are located at the extremes of our continent. This cooperation is important because of the role Norway is playing in the north of the continent, while Romania is playing such a role in the east of Europe. These relations are beneficial to establishing a new atmosphere on the continent.

[Reporter] I want to thank you very much. I want to mention that we have taken very beautiful pictures in Romania and we will show them to our viewers.

[Iliescu] Yes, it is very important that you present us in an objective way to the Norwegian public, because it seems that in Western Europe there has been enough disinformation about Romania this year. There is surely a certain interest in more sensational aspects such as the miners, the handicapped, the Gypsies, and so forth. These are the only things that have been presented about Romania.

[Reporter] We want to thank you for this interview and for receiving us today.

Council of Europe Rapporteurs Discuss Minority Issues

AU1103183093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1747 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 11/3/1993—In the report they intend to submit to the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Communities in May this year the two rapporteurs of this forum, Messrs. Friedrich Koenig and Gunnar Jansson, who have been in Romania for several days, will give a "positive assessment" to the question of Romania's admission as full member of the Council of Europe.

The guests stated their points of view at the press conference given Thursday, 11 March in Bucharest at the close of their mission to Romania.

From successive analyses of facts in Romania, the rapporteurs concluded that obvious progress had been made towards democratization and individual freedoms in Romania, and that the present situation was in no way comparable to that prior to December 1989. Which does not mean, the two guests said, that there isn't still much to do about changing old mentalities, but one should not ignore the fact that Romania was in full transition and not at the end of this process.

During their visit to Bucharest, Messrs. Konig and Jansson had more than 20 meetings that totalled almost 30 hours of talks with representatives of parliamentary groups, political parties, ethnic minorities, religious

denominations, non governmental organizations, justice, press, legislative bodies, with the prime minister and the president of Romania. They all, the rapporteurs said, unreservedly backed the Romanian Government's demarche for Romania's adherence to the Council of Europe.

Asked to refer to the ethnic minorities issue, the rapporteurs made it clear that such problems existed in all European Countries, save, perhaps, Portugal and Iceland, and that problems of similar nature could be found in other countries as well. In Romania too, like in those other countries, certain frictions are being speculated by the extremists of both sides. In their contacts with minority groups representatives, the latter did not pronounce for administration. The Romanian Government, the European Parliamentarians said, showed full understanding for the minorities, but at medium and lower levels certain backward mentalities are remanent. The guests appreciated the fact that the minorities imposed no conditions, on the contrary, they overtly supported Romania's integration expressing their hope that once Romania was admitted to the Council of Europe their problems would be easier to be solved.

"Romania has always been in Europe, she deserves and has the right to have permanent, better contacts with the rest of the European community," the EC rapporteurs concluded.

Defense Council Hears Reports on Funding

AU1103183393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] The Office of the President has faxed us the following statement:

President Iliescu chaired a meeting today of the Supreme Council for National Defense. The participants endorsed the report on council activities in 1992 which, in accordance with the provisions of Law No. 39 of 1990, will be submitted to Parliament.

The council examined the report presented by the National Administration of Material Reserves regarding the establishment, administration, and organization of national material reserves. Taking into consideration the current difficulties, it was recommended that the government and the relevant institutions take measures so that national material reserves meet the pressing requirements for the protection of the population, the economy, for defense in exceptional situations.

On the basis of reports presented by the defense and interior ministers, the council considered the status of implementation of the 1992 programs for equipping the Army and the units of the Interior Ministry, as well as prospects for 1993.

The statement emphasizes that arrears have been noted compared with the program for equipping the Army which was adopted by the Council during its 27 May 1991 meeting, the main cause being insufficient budget allocations.

Since in 1993 there is no chance of ensuring allocation of the necessary funds, it was recommended that the two ministers reexamine the funding requests by giving priority to particular military equipment, of which there is only a small quantity available.

Examining the report presented by the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] in connection with the fulfillment of tasks concerning national security, the council noted that SRI activities have been carried out while observing the provisions of Law No. 14 of 24 February 1992 regarding the organization and operation of the SRI and the provisions of Law No. 51 of 29 July 1991 regarding national security. The council stressed the need to intensify efforts to perfect the performance of all personnel in order to defend the fundamental interests of the state ruled by law and those of the Romanian people.

The council also addressed topical questions in keeping with its legal prerogatives, the statement concludes.

Presidential Spokesman Views Tokes Statement

AU1103131193 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 8 March 93 p 3

[Unattributed article: "The Reaction of the Presidency"]

[Text] Talking about the so-called ethnic cleansing which, according to the opinion of [Laszlo Tokes] the honorary president of UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], is being perpetrated in Romania, Traian Chebeleu, the spokesman of the Romanian president [Ion Iliescu] pointed out the fact that the institution he is representing has not reacted and does not intend to react in any way to that statement, because "everyone has his own extremists." Traian Chebeleu also said that "we do not identify Laszlo Tokes with UDMR or UDMR with the Hungarian population."

The presidential spokesman announced that himself, other Romanian officials (Government Secretary-General Viorel Hrebenciuc), and parliamentarians belonging to the UDMR and to the German ethnic minority attended a roundtable organized in Bern on ethnic minority issues.

Chebeleu said that those discussions were fruitful but also contradictory. The roundtable was dedicated to the problems of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania (is that minority the only one having problems?—editor's note), to the opportunity of adopting a bill on ethnic minorities, and to other such issues. Chebeleu's conclusion is that "the problems can be solved by means of dialogue, and especially that UDMR has certain personalities with whom one can talk."

UN Resolution Confirms Observation of Human Rights

AU1103171193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Geneva, ROMPRES 11/3/1993—The UN Commission on Human Rights endorsed by consensus on March 10 a resolution confirming the progress marked by Romania in the application of the state of law and the observance of human rights.

The resolution, promoted by Sweden's representative and cosponsored by 29 states, including the U.S. and the common market countries, Austria, Poland, the Russian Federation, presents in a realistic manner the observance by the Romanian state of the human rights and disjoins Romania from the group of countries where human rights violations are reported.

Oancea Hopes For Recovery of Agriculture, Livestock

AU1203160493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1455 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1992—Agriculture may be refloated and produce up to its potential this year, more specifically at least five million tonnes of wheat may be harvested next summer," said Ioan Oancea, minister of agriculture and food, in an interview with biweekly ECONOMISTUL.

Minister Oancea said that agriculture was "purposefully left to drift to the worst degradation" in the years after the revolution, which has led to bulky imports of food for the population and for animals. The refloating of agriculture, he considered, depends upon the securing of the 500,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizers.

Referring to animal production, Ioan Oancea said that the grave shortcomings in this sector, especially the shortage of milk, are the consequences of "a mass murder of animals which is matchless in history" that has been committed these last three years. The steps for revigoration start with the restocking of the farms around Bucharest with about 20,000 cows given by the Italian Government and they will continue with the remaking of the livestock all over the country, so that the first signs of improvement in animal-breeding will show as early as next autumn.

Ukrainian Parliament Delegation Begins Talks

AU1203090093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0720 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/3/1993—Thursday [11 March] evening a meeting was held at the Senate between a delegation of the Foreign Policy Commission of the Parliament of Ukraine, headed by its president, Dimitro V. Pavlichko [name as received], and members of the foreign policy commissions the two chambers of Romania's Parliament.

During the talks a brief analysis was made on the Romanian-Ukrainian political, economic, and cultural relations. The joint intention was expressed to steadily develop these relations, starting from the importance of the two countries within the region. Also stressed was the fact that Romania and Ukraine can and must closely cooperate within the Black Sea Zone, but also at European level. Approached were also issues regarding assistance, on both sides, for the minorities—the Romanians in Ukraine and the Ukrainians in Romania.

Canada Grants Loan To Back Reform

AU1103204393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/3/1993—A ceremony took place Thursday, 11 March at the Victoria Palace for the signing of the agreement between the Governments of Romania and Canada for the guaranteeing of a loan.

The document was signed by Finance Minister Florin Georgescu for the Romanian side and by William Fairweather, Canada's ambassador to Bucharest, for the Canadian side.

The signing of this accord is the last procedure for the transfer to Romania of a 24 million Canadian dollar loan for the back up of the Romanian reform programme.

The Romanian finance minister stated at the ceremony that the agreement signed today was the beginning of a "we hope very fruitful cooperation with Canada," as well as a recognition of Romania's being on the right path towards democracy, reform and towards the unrestricted cooperation with all the democratic countries in the world."

Ambassador Fairweather said, in his turn, that the agreement between Canada and Romania was a support, a beginning for the future cooperation, a sign that reform and democracy in Romania were on the right course, and that Romania was heading towards a market economy.

Croatian Envoy Stresses Romanian Mediating Role

AU1103121393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] President Ion Iliescu received this morning His Excellency Nikola Debeliak, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Croatia to Bucharest, who presented his credentials.

In a brief statement to the press after the presentation ceremony, the Croatian diplomat referred to the forthcoming visit to Romania by Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo on 15-17 March and said that there is great interest in this visit, which is considered as very important. I noticed that the Romanian side also attaches importance to the event, His Excellency said.

Regarding the current situation in the former Yugoslavia, His Excellency considers that Romania can play an important mediating role within the framework of meetings between all states in the region, which can facilitate a diplomatic solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

Our reporter, Gabi Benescu told us that the meeting was also attended by Messrs. Constantin Ene, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, presidential adviser for foreign policy matters; and Emilian Manciur, presidential protocol chief.

Romanians Arrested for Drug Smuggling in Austria

AU1103145393 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 8 Mar 93 p 1

[Article by Eugenia Cristea: "Four Romanians Have Been Arrested in Austria for Smuggling Drugs"]

[Text] At the end of the last week, the Austrian police arrested four Romanians for smuggling drugs. The Romanians were carrying 650 grams of cocaine, worth one 1 million Austrian schillings.

Last Wednesday [3 March], a car entered Austria driven by Gheorghe Daianu, a 46-year-old hotel employee. Two 36-year-olds, Ion Evulescu and Marcel Iordache from Constanta, were also in the car. The cocaine was found hidden in the belt of Marcel Iordache's trousers.

The Austrian police were expecting them after a telephone tip-off from Romania, but rather than arresting them, they just followed them. The three Romanians went to the village of Oberpullendorf, near Vienna, to the house of another Romanian named Victoria Stefu. The four Romanians hid there for two days.

On Friday [5 March], they went out of the house and, at a filling station, met with a Canadian citizen, Pamela Moe, a close friend of Iordache's.

While they were transferring the cocaine into Moe's hand, while pretending to fill up the car, the Austrian police stepped in and arrested all five of them.

Muslims Reportedly Hold UN Troops in Konjevic Polje

AU1103203193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by Zvornik correspondent Vladimir Mitric]

[Text] Konjevic Polje Muslims captured about 10 UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] members at around 1300. No reliable information has been received on them until tonight. This was reported by [name indistinct], assistant for humanitarian affairs for eastern Bosnia, in the headquarters of the Zvornik garrison of the Army of the Serbian republic, who together with six of his colleagues managed to escape being captured by Muslims. The UNPROFOR representatives, along with the Medicins Sans Frontiers and people from the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, were supposed to evacuate injured and sick Muslims from Konjevic Polje today. As [name indistinct] testifies, they did not find a single injured person in Konjevic Polje; however, their colleagues were immediately surrounded and taken prisoner upon their arrival for unknown reasons. They managed to escape captivity because they were 2 km behind the convoy. We have learned that General Phillipe Morillon, commander of the peace troops for former Bosnia-Hercegovina, did not set off for Konjevic Polje today, as was announced, but for Srebrenica. Among the captured members of the peace troops are, as we have learned, also two majors—one from England and one from Russia.

[Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1800 GMT on 11 March adds in a report by Tuzla correspondent Ramiz Brkic: "Even though it was expected that General Morillon could return from Podrinje late this afternoon, it appears that his second visit to this region has been considerably extended, obviously because of the new aggressors' delays in finally allowing the convoy to reach the suffering people of Podrinje and the chetniks' efforts to gain in time for further attacks and destruction of Srebrenica, Cerska, and Kamenica."]

UN Officers 'Practically Hostage'

LD1103193693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1854 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Muslims from the Srebrenica area this afternoon brought into question the humanitarian action led by General Philippe Morillon, the commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] for former Bosnia-Hercegovina, having captured a part of a convoy which came into the area of Konjevic Polje today.

The whole convoy should have returned by 1800, but only two vehicles and seven civilian-workers of humanitarian organizations have returned to Zvornik.

A few thousand Muslims, none of them wounded, blocked the humanitarian convoy three kilometers from Konjevic Polje, near Kravica in the village of Hrncici, preventing it from moving, but also preventing it from returning to Zvornik. At the request of members of the humanitarian mission that the United Nations should be allowed to work normally, a local Muslim commander said that he could not remove the rallying Muslims.

Gen.Morillon took an alternative route and reached Srebrenica via Bratunac.

Two armored personnel carriers, two trucks, and one Landrover with UN markings remained blocked in the wider region of Konjevic Polje.

Several UNPROFOR officers are stranded in these vehicles, including a Russian and English major and members of humanitarian organizations.

All of them are practically hostages held by the Muslims in the area of Konjevic Polje. One of the seven people who reached Zvornik this evening is Jan Erik Linstad, the UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] coordinator for eastern Bosnia.

Negotiations To Free Soldiers

LD1203092393 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0844 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Report by Michael Harvey, PRESS ASSOCIATION]

[Text] Negotiations to free a group of British troops trapped in a Bosnian village were continuing today with Army authorities hopeful of a swift end to the impasse.

The troops travelling in two armoured vehicles were still surrounded by a large crowd of civilians preventing them leaving the settlement of Konjevic Polje in eastern Bosnia, an Army spokesman said.

A human wall of as many as 6,000 Muslim villagers surrounded the armoured vehicles yesterday after they entered the village on a United Nations aid mission. A Ministry of Defence spokesman in London said it was not thought the five soldiers, all 9/12 Royal Lancers, were in any danger.

The convoy went to Konjevic Polje to evacuate 75 wounded civilians, most of them men, but Bosnian Serbs said the convoy could bring out only women and children. The angry villagers ringed the vehicles with burning bales of hay and told the British soldiers the convoy should take all the wounded or none. They also demanded the troops help them with a mass evacuation of the village, a proposal totally unacceptable to local Serb commanders.

Major Martin Waters, at British headquarters at Vitez, central Bosnia, said talks to resolve the situation would take place at the village and at the Bosnian Serb headquarters at Pale, near Sarajevo. "We have been in contact with the escort leader Major Alan Abraham this morning and he is well and does not feel in any danger. He reports that about 200 women and children are now

surrounding the vehicles and they are discussing the situation now." He said Maj. Abraham felt confident he was in control of the situation.

"The problem is a lack of control in the Bosnian chain of command. Danish lorries with the troops were stopped at a road block outside the village but the armoured vehicles were allowed through," said Maj. Waters. "Those lorries have to be freed and the transport of the wounded civilians then organised with the agreement of the local Serbs."

Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind was today urged to make a Commons statement over the news. Neville Trotter, Tory MP [member of parliament] for Tynemouth, said: "This is the worst scenario. It is the grave scenario that one so dreaded when one was out there."

And Menzies Campbell, the Liberal Democrat defence spokesman, said: "This underlines how fragile is the nature of the operation our forces are engaged in, and the fact that they are at risk the whole time. But no one should be in any doubt that if sterner measures are required, public opinion will support them."

Maj. Waters said later Maj. Abraham was in frequent contact with the British UN base at Vitez and was "in very good spirits. He was rather surprised to learn from the BBC World Service that he is trapped. He feels in no danger whatsoever," he said.

The UN commander in Bosnia, Major General Philippe Morillon, was in the area of the village and was expected to add his weight to the negotiations.

Convoy's Arrival Reported

LD1103225393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by unidentified Tuzla correspondent]

[Excerpt] Here is the latest information from Podrinje, which we just received from the Second Corps Command in Tuzla: The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] convoy this afternoon reached tens of thousands of sufferers who had sought shelter in Konjevic Polje, fleeing from the merciless offensive of Serbian aggressors and chetniks. While UNPROFOR representatives were in Konjevic Polje, the aggressors and chetniks continued with the shelling and bestial destruction of Konjevic Polje and the killing of defenseless civilians. Before the eyes of UN representatives, six civilians fell victim to aggressor shelling, including a pregnant woman. [passage omitted]

UN Convoy Departs Zvornik for Srebrenica, Konjevic Polje

LD1103193193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Zvornik, March 11 (TANJUG)—Commander of United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Hercegovina General Philippe Morillon and a group of U.N. officers and representatives of the Organization Medecins du Monde crossed into the Moslem-controlled territory in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina around 12:30 hours local time on Thursday [11 March].

Around 11:00 hours, General Morillon set off from the Serb- controlled town of Zvornik to the Moslem enclaves of Srebrenica and Konjevic Polje, whose sick and wounded civilians are expected to be evacuated. The convoy with visible U.N. marks include several armoured personnel carriers, trucks and jeeps.

The military leadership of the Serb republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina had approved the mission at General Morillon's personal request.

The Serb side had informed General Morillon that it could not guarantee his safety because of the continuing Moslem offensive in the area but General Morillon took upon himself the risk and responsibility for the mission.

Last Friday, he visited Moslem towns of Cerska and Konjevic Polje, where he received assurances from local Moslem commanders that they would stop the offensive against the Serbs which they launched late last year.

Immediately after General Morillon's departure from Cerska and Konjevic Polje, Moslem Commander Sefer Halilovic ordered an all-out offensive on Serbs in eastern Bosnia, which was also confirmed in a report by Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio. The offensive continued unabated on Thursday.

The Serb side has agreed that wounded civilians should be evacuated from the area but not Moslem fighters. It also wants all Serbs kept in the Moslem-controlled towns of Tuzla and Srebrenica to be evacuated too.

Under an agreement reached with Serb Army Commander in Zvornik Major Vinko Pandurevic, General Morillon's return is expected by 18:00 hours on Thursday at the latest.

Serbs Delay Convoy

AU1103203593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by Ramiz Brkic from Tuzla]

[Excerpt] Even though it was expected that General Morillon could return from Podrinje late this afternoon, it appears that his second visit to this region has been considerably extended, obviously because of the new aggressor's delays in finally allowing the convoy to reach the suffering people of Podrinje, and the chetnik's efforts to gain in time for further attacks and destruction of Srebrenica, Cerska, and Kamenica. [passage omitted]

Convoy Reaches Srebrenica

AU1103190193 Paris AFP in English 1829 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Brussels, March 11 (AFP)—A medical aid convoy reached the besieged Moslem enclave of Srebrenica from Belgrade Thursday [11 March], but only after handing over much of its cargo at Serbian checkpoints, the convoy's organisers said here.

Aid group Medecins Sans Frontieres said the convoy, which had been held up en route from Belgrade by Bosnian Serbs, had abandoned "a large part of the medical material and some medicines" at Serbian checkpoints.

Meanwhile two workers from Medecins Sans Frontieres Thursday reached the town of Konjevic Polje, another besieged Moslem enclave in the region where some 70 seriously injured people face death, the group said in Brussels.

The developments came as Bosnian Serbs lifted a blockade of two U.N. convoys travelling to Srebrenica and Konjevic-Polje after tough talks with General Philippe Morillon, chief of U.N. forces in Bosnia.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic gave the green light for the convoys to proceed before Morillon met military authorities for talks in Zvornik, a Serb-controlled town in eastern Bosnia, the general told AFP.

Morillon himself headed the convoy to Srebrenica, while a two-truck convoy escorted by two light armored vehicles and a crane to clear barricades is to evacuate wounded Moslems from Konjevic Polje.

The population of Konjevic Polje has in recent weeks swollen to 60,000, with more and more refugees seeking shelter.

UNHCR Denies Morillon Hostage

LD1203110893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1041 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—The Belgrade office of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] today denied reports in certain media that General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, and a group of delegates of international humanitarian organizations have been captured in Srebrenica.

"Gen. Morillon has arrived in Srebrenica with a convoy of 10 trucks and with representatives of the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations, and talks are under way," Lyndall Sachs, official spokesperson of the UNHCR told TANJUG.

She said, however, that her organization has not been in contact with its people in Srebrenica this morning.

Morillon Leaves Srebrenica

LD1203123493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1155 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—French General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Bosnia, left Srebrenica today and set off toward Zvornik, TANJUG's correspondent was told at the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] headquarters in Belgrade.

Morillon intends to accompany the humanitarian convoy from Zvornik to Srebrenica, UNPROFOR said.

The French general went to Srebrenica yesterday with his escort and representatives of international humanitarian organizations in order to familiarize himself with the situation in this eastern Bosnian town.

On the way, a Belgian truck loaded with medicines for the inhabitants of Srebrenica hit a mine. The vehicle was damaged but there were no casualties, UNPROFOR stresses.

Morillon arrived in Srebrenica at about 2000 yesterday.

The convoy in which the UNPROFOR commander was travelling left the territory under Serb control at 1230 yesterday and should have returned to Zvornik by 1800. A part of the convoy in which Morillon was not travelling was blockaded by several thousand Muslims in the village of Hrncici near Konjevic Polje.

Morillon reached Srebrenica by a different route and it is still not clear why it took him so long to get to the town.

U.S. Air Force Airdrops Aid to Srebrenica

LD1203090193 Hamburg DPA in German 0247 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Frankfurt-Main (DPA)—For the 12th consecutive night, six transport aircraft of the U.S. Air Force dropped food and medical supplies over eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina last night. Aid was dropped over the village of Srebrenica last night for the sixth time. A U.S. Air Force spokesman said the supplies dropped consisted of 40.4 tonnes of food and 1.4 tonnes of medical supplies. The food included 2.7 tonnes from Norway and two tonnes from Turkey.

The spokeswoman also announced that yesterday's drop for Zepa had reached its target. According to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, there is an especially urgent need for help in Srebrenica and Zepa.

Srebrenica 'Burning'; Authorities Seek Evacuation

AU1103153093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Srebrenica is burning. The free territory of the Srebrenica commune is under attack from all sides, and the people have nowhere left to seek shelter from the invasion of the Serbian butchers and mercenaries.

Owing to all the horrors the population of this region is going through, the Srebrenica War Presidency is appealing to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government to do everything possible to save thousands of lives. The appeal also stresses that the entire population of the region should be evacuated.

Government Sets 'Minimal Conditions' for Plan

AU1103201593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Consultations continued on the New York talks at today's joint session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Government, and representatives of the parliamentary parties in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly.

The subject of today's debate was the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government's document that spells out the minimal conditions that need to be met before the Vance-Owen plan can be signed in full. The government believes that it is necessary for the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina to have one constitution, borders exclusively controlled by central authorities, a unitary monetary policy, an indivisible Sarajevo, and guarantees for the state's continuity and legal institutions of authority. If Bosnia-Hercegovina accepts the offered plan, then guarantees for its implementation are necessary and should be presented as an appropriate UN Security Council resolution that would imply precisely established deadlines and bearers. [sentence as heard] This primarily implies the effective control of heavy artillery.

At today's session, an analysis was carried out on the views of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, Constitutional Court, other state institutions, and political parties. It was made perfectly clear that the peace process must not affect the strength of our defense efforts, particularly in view of the seriousness of the aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina. Today's session is expected to resume, at which a detailed analysis of the current situation and preparation of the decision that is expected in New York from the legal bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be dealt with.

Based on the conclusions of yesterday's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government, the government reviewed the possibility of signing the document on the maps from the Vance-Owen package and the proposal in full. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government believes that the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation should resume the peace negotiations without delay. Their decision is based on the report by the Presidency's president on the progress of the negotiations and his activities in the United States; the discussion at the joint session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government; the government's separate session, and in view of the attitude of the international community, and views of respectable and benevolent political factors. If the following minimal conditions are met, the Vance-Owen plan should be signed in full. BH-PRESS carries the statement by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government:

First, a) the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to have one constitution;

b) the state borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina as the internationally recognized borders of the sovereign state are to be under the exclusive control of the central authorities. That implies the protection of the borders, the control of crossing, and traffic.

c) the entire territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to have a unitary monetary policy;

d) Sarajevo as the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be indivisible, and the Sarajevo province is to have the same treatment as the other provinces;

e) transitional solutions are to secure the appropriate continuity of the state and legal institutions of authority;

f) the program on implementing the plan is to be an integral part of the plan or a publicly stated guarantee for implementing it should be given in the form of an appropriate Security Council resolution, which implies precisely determined deadlines and bearers. This particularly refers to an effective physical control of the heavy artillery by UN forces or NATO and the urgent lifting of the sieges of the cities.

Second, even though the offered solutions in the Vance-Owen plan do not reflect the attitudes of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government as formulated in its program of work that was adopted by the Bosnia- Hercegovina Presidency, and other decisions that the government has adopted during the peace negotiations, and in view of the objective international and internal situation, the government believes that the plan should be accepted if the said conditions are met.

Based on the assumption that the signed plan will be implemented, the government believes that by urgently signing the peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, certain advantages will be gained that can be presented in the following way:

a) stronger support for the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina by the international community, including Russia at the moment;

b) stronger support by the U.S. Administration and its readiness for a more effective and decisive involvement in implementing the plan;

c) removal of certain misunderstandings between the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Republic of Croatia;

d) immediate peace and control of heavy artillery;

e) encouragement of the democratic forces in the so-called Yugoslavia, which can lead to the decrease of the militant ambitions of the aggressor's regime in Serbia and Montenegro;

f) abolishment of legal and political grounds for the formation of para-state creations in Bosnia-Hercegovina;

g) material support from the international community and the friendly states for the return of refugees and the reconstruction of the war-torn country;

h) creation of conditions for correcting and improving the Vance-Owen plan, during the adoption of constitutional solutions, in the sense of widening and strengthening the functions of the central authorities;

i) expeditious start of the war crimes tribunal.

Even though the signing of the Vance-Owen plan has certain negative implications, according to the government, the refusal to sign the peace plan would bring about the spreading of the war, further destruction, and new victims, with the possible distancing—even if only temporary—of the international community from our problems.

Third, regardless of whether the peace plan will be signed or not, full support should be given to the further efforts of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, in respect of its organizational and material strengthening and increasing its combat readiness to the highest level possible. It is also vital to intensify the efforts in preparing to appropriately participate in adopting the constitution of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to correct some imprecise details or inadequate solutions from the Vance-Owen plan, particularly those connected with state functions.

Fourth, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government believes that it is essential to adopt an urgent decision in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly and Presidency, particularly in view of the latest diplomatic activities by the international community to force the aggressor's side to sign the peace plan.

No Decision By Presidency on Vance-Owen

LD1103180193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Ranko Mavrak from Sarajevo for Croatian Radio]

[Excerpts] One person was killed and one wounded when chetniks opened anti-aircraft gun fire in the area of Mejtas in the Sarajevo municipality of Centar. Two other people were injured in the vicinity of the Holiday Inn Hotel by enemy snipers. [passage omitted]

A joint session of the Presidency, government, and parliamentary deputies [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] was still in progress at the time of this dispatch. They are discussing the future of the New York negotiations. It is certain that there has been no agreement so far as regards to accepting the offered territorial solutions. As we have unofficially learned, [Bosnian President] Alija Izetbegovic is in favor of the paper offered by Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] with some slight corrections, but hardliners who would like to gain considerable territorial concessions have been opposing him. It is completely certain now that Izetbegovic is not going to be in New York on March 12, as the two cochairmen expected. It is much more probable that the resumption of negotiations, if they take place at all, will be at the beginning of next week.

EC Observer: Muslims Leaving Janje Voluntarily

LD1103194493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 11 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Bjeljina, March 11 (TANJUG)—European Community (E.C.) observer [name indistinct] Shefson said on Thursday [11 March] that the Bosnia Muslims are leaving the village of Janje, close to Bjeljina in northeastern Bosnia, without pressure and due to difficult living conditions.

"I personally questioned some 80 Muslims from Janje, without the presence of Serbs, and all said they were leaving of their own free will to go to Germany, because of the extremely difficult war conditions and not under pressure," Shefson said on Bjeljina Sim Radio.

Mark Damsant, another member of the E.C. monitoring mission which has for the past two weeks toured Semberija (northeastern Bosnia), said he is "convinced in the good will of the Serbs and the Bjeljina authorities' open policy" to allow people to go where they please and renew war-severed family ties.

Vojkan Djurkovic, the representative of the Bjeljina Committee for the Exchange of Prisoners, told the same program that the position of the Serbs in Tuzla is dramatic since the authorities of this Muslim-controlled city "are doing everything to avoid exchanges and are refusing to reveal the names of the Serbs on the exchange lists."

Bosnia Serb representatives, who enabled U.N. commander for Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, to visit Konjevic Polje and Srebrenica with the aim of evacuating wounded and sick Muslim civilians, said that the Tuzla Serbs were not receiving international humanitarian aid and have for months been exposed to various forms of abuse and pogroms.

The Bosnia Serbs said Gen. Morillon's visit depends on whether the principle "all for all" is applied in the evacuation of Serbs held captive in Tuzla and Srebrenica, which the general accepted.

ICRC Proposes Simultaneous Exchange of Prisoners

LD1103203493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1954 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—President of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Sommaruga on Thursday [11 March] proposed in a

letter to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic that the prisoners held by the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina be exchanged simultaneously between March 27 and 29. The three sides are expected to reply to the proposal by March 15, said the Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA.

The letter recalled that the Moslem, Serb and Croat delegations at Geneva talks on March 5-6 had promised to do everything in their power to implement the agreement signed on October 1, 1992 on an unconditional release of all prisoners and the closing down of all camps.

Under the Geneva agreement, a total of 2,704 prisoners are to be released. The Bosnian Croat side is to release Serbs held in five prisons—in Livno, [placename indistinct], Rascani and Orasje in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Slavonski Brod in Croatia.

The Moslem side is to release Serb prisoners held in 12 prisons and camps—Breza, Kladusa, Konjic, Pazaric near Tarcin, the silo in Tarcin, the former Yugoslav Army barracks Viktor Bubanj in Sarajevo, Stupar, the Sarajevo Central Prison, Tesanj, Tuzla, Visoko and Zenica.

The Serb side is to release imprisoned Moslems and Croats from nine prisons - in Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Batkovic near Bijeljina, Doboj, Kotor Varos, Kula prison near Sarajevo, Visegrad, Zvornik and Zezavica—and a hospital in Bijeljina.

The Serbs were the only side to release unilaterally 5,200 prisoners and close down three detention centres—Manjaca, Trnopolje and Omarska—as well as the prison in the Sarajevo suburb of Vogosce.

According to ICRC report in February, around 2,700 Serbs are currently held in Moslem and Croat prisons and another 500 in private houses under Moslem and Croat control. A total of 1,203 prisoners are currently held in Serb prisons, shows the ICRC report.

The prisoners suspected of being responsible for war crimes will not be exchanged and this accounts for the discrepancy between the overall number of prisoners and the number of those to be released. All sides are obliged to submit to the ICRC their lists of such prisoners.

An ICRC delegation is expected to again visit all these prisons and camps by March 22 to establish whether the prisoners wish to be released on the spot or to be evacuated to neighbouring countries.

In the case of Sarajevo, the term "release on the spot" covers the entire inner part of the city, including the airport which is under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control.

U.S. Reportedly Promises to Reconstruct Bosnia

LD1103201793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 11 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Washington, March 11 (TANJUG)—The U.S. Administration has promised Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic to finance the reconstruction of Bosnia-Hercegovina if he signs the document dividing Bosnia into 10 provinces, well-informed sources in Washington say.

The document, drafted by international mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, has so far been accepted only by Bosnian Croats.

Izetbegovic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic refused to sign it in New York last Sunday [7 March].

Izetbegovic is marking time in an attempt to gain more territores, while Karadzic argues that the document is to the disadvantage of Bosnian Serbs.

To convince Izetbegovic that it will continue with its aggressive policy towards the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, the U.S Administration has informed its European allies that it is ready to send patrol boats to control the enforcement of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia on the Danube river, the sources say.

It was announced in Washington on Thursday that the United States urged its European allies to draw up a plan for sending about 50,000 troops to Bosnia-Hercegovina to enforce a peace treaty once it is signed.

The NEW YORK TIMES on Thursday reported that Washington's plan was stumbling over disagreement between France and the United States as to who would command the force which would include 20,000 U.S. troops.

During their meeting in Washington last week, French President Francois Mitterrand and his U.S. counterpart Bill Clinton 'divided the roles' in the quest for a solution to the Bosnian crisis.

Mitterrand (?said) he would try to convince Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to use his influence with Bosnian Serbs to accept the peace plan, while Clinton took upon himself to pressure Bosnian Muslims to sign the document.

Milosevic on Thursday left for Paris for talks with Mitterrand, Vance and Owen.

Notwithstanding the Mitterrand-Clinton agreement, the White House is uneasy about the French president's initiatives viewing them as an attemt to diminish the U.S. role in the final stage of the Bosnian peace talks.

War Crimes Trial Opens in Sarajevo

AU1203114493 Paris AFP in English 1133 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 12 (AFP)—The military prosecutor here said Friday [12 March] he was seeking the death penalty for alleged Serbian war criminal Borislav Herak, accused of killing about 30 people and raping several women.

Prosecutor Ljubo Lukic said on the first day of Herak's trial that the crimes were committed as part of an "ethnic cleansing" drive by Serbian forces in Moslem villages around Sarajevo.

Herak, 22, who confessed shortly after his arrest in November, said he had acted on orders from his superiors.

Lukic also said he planned to seek the maximum punishment for a cohort of Herak's, Sretko Damjanovic, who is also accused of genocide and participating in ethnic cleansing.

He did not say what punishment he would seek for Damjanovic's companion, arrested along with the two men and accused of looting Moslem homes.

HOS Assassination Plot Reported

PM1103162293 London THE EUROPEAN in English 11-14 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Askold Krushelnycky report: "Assassins' Plot Revealed"]

[Text] Details of an assassination plot by members of an extreme right-wing military unit who hope to wreck relations between Bosnia's Croatian and Muslim allies have been passed to THE EUROPEAN.

A deserter from HOS [Croatian Defense Forces], a shadowy Croatian group outlawed in its own country, claims a senior leader of Bosnia's Muslim army will be murdered on the orders of his own side later this month. The killing would be blamed on the Croatian Army, dramatically escalating tensions between the two sides which are nominally allied against Serbia.

The perpetrators hope that the murder will renew fighting between the nominal allies and precipitate Western military intervention.

In view of the information given to THE EUROPEAN we have passed on a warning of the plot to authorities in Bosnia for transmission to the intended victim. The dirty war in the former Yugoslavia has been mirrored by an equally massive propaganda exercise. Western intelligence agencies have been alerted to a number of alleged plots to assassinate senior military and political figures.

The HOS leadership believes that the Croatian Government is plotting with Belgrade to carve up Bosnia. Although HOS fought with distinction during the war between Serbia and Croatia, it was outlawed afterwards.

Peter Davis—not his real name—is a British volunteer who served with the group. He claims that a HOS hit squad will murder Alia Alic, the third most senior officer in the Bosnian Army, within a fortnight.

Davis says he was involved in planning the murder before he decided to quit HOS. He said: "Alic will be returning from a scheduled meeting at the HVO (Croatian Army in Bosnia-Hercegovina) headquarters in Mostar. His car will be attacked and he will be taken out."

Davis also claims to have been part of a unit that killed a German journalist in Mostar last year in a premeditated killing blamed on Serb forces.

According to Davis, HOS soldiers targeted mortars on the historic bridge in Mostar, disguising their shots under a genuine Serb barrage. A few days later two men were lured to the bridge where they were killed by a single mortar round. Serb forces in mountains around the Bosnian city were blamed for the attack.

Records show that German journalist called Georg Pfuhl was killed on 19 September at the Mostar bridge.

Although Pfuhl, 29, was listed as a freelance journalist when he was killed, the newspaper that he was supposedly working for, the DARMSTADTER ECHO, close to his home in Habitzheim, says that he was never a reporter. Pfuhl had carried small amounts of aid to Mostar and pretended to be a journalist to cut through red tape.

Davis said: "The people involved received a Deutschmark (DM) 500 bonus and we all had a good drink. The men in HOS are paid only about DM16 a month, but there is plenty of scope for freelance activities. Commanders on all sides are making money from selling arms, drugs, food and dealing in stolen cars."

Bosnian authorities have said they will warn Alic, and added: "Everything is possible for terrorists like HOS. They can think of a reason for killing anyone."

Croat-Muslim Forces Shell Nevesinje

LD1103215193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Nevesinje, March 11 (TANJUG)—Croat-Moslem forces started shelling the wider region of Nevesinje at around 15:00 hrs local time on Thursday [11 March], said the command of the Army of the Serb Republic in Bileca

About 15 shells of large calibre fell on this Serb-held town in Hercegovina (southern Bosnia-Hercegovina) by 17:00 hrs local time. There are vast material damages, but there are no reports so far about casualties.

Regular Croat forces on Thursday afternoon began a new strong artillery attack on almost all parts of the municipality of Trebinje, Hercegovina, and they are trying to break through with their infantry units from certain directions, it was announced at the press center in Bileca on Thursday.

Serb villages in the region of Zupci, Trebinjska Suma and Popovo Polje are constantly under attack from mortars, tanks and heavy artillery weaponry.

Serb positions on the Capljina-Stolac and Mostar-Nevesinje sections of the Hercegovina front are also attacked by strong mortar and artillery fire.

The command of the Hercegovina Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army estimated that today's heavy artillery attacks by the Croatian Army are an introduction into large scale operations.

Several Casualties in Mostar Artillery Attacks

LD1103223293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Hercegovina]

[Excerpt] Chetnik long-range artillery launched attacks on Mostar on three occasions today and as a consequence a general alert was sounded three times. Five people were wounded in an attack launched this morning, while one person was killed, four others sustained serious injuries, and two suffered slight injuries in an attack which began after 1700. All the casualties of the chetnik attacks on Mostar today are civilians.

The chetniks also shelled the entire frontline of southeastern Hercegovina today: a dozen shells landed on Konjic, around 50 hit Bijelo Polje, a dozen fell on Podvelezje, around 30 fell on the area between Guberaca and Rotimlja, 60 fell on Rotimlja, around 100 landed on Stolac battlefield, and the town of Stolac was hit by four grenades.

According to a report from the command of the area of southeastern Hercegovina, artillery of the Croatian Defense Council responded fiercely. [passage omitted]

Heavy Fighting Reported Between Serbs, Muslims

LD1003161793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 10 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, Bratunac, 10 Mar (TANJUG)—Heavy fighting between members of the army of the Serb republic and Muslim forces has been waged in eastern Bosnia today. The Muslim forces launched an all-out offensive in that area three days ago, it has been learned from sources close to the general staff of the army of the Serb republic.

TANJUG was told in a phone conversation with top officers of the army of the Serb republic that "fierce fighting in which both sides suffered considerable losses" has been waged in eastern Bosnia today.

According to the same sources, "members of the army of the Serb republic have successfully been defending their territory in eastern Bosnia."

The all-out offensive in eastern Bosnia was ordered by Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Muslim forces, and Muslim-controlled Radio Sarajevo broadcast the complete order on Monday.

The Muslim formations have been launching fierce attacks today from the direction of Tuzla and Kalesija, as well as Zepa and Srebrenica, toward the wider region of Konjevic Polje, the Serb military sources said.

The Serb military authorities estimate that the command of the Muslim forces sent in two corps from central Bosnia to fight in the offensive against Serb positions in eastern Bosnia.

Lack of Coordination in Aid Distribution

93BA0673C Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by Gojko Serbula: "Full Control"—first paragraph is GLAS SRPSKI introduction]

[Text] At a meeting of the municipal assembly, it was noted that there was not enough coordination in the distribution of humanitarian aid, which also resulted in certain irregularities, and so it was decided that in the future the distribution would be centralized, thus achieving more complete control.

Gradiska, 8 Feb—During a discussion of a report on the collection of humanitarian aid and its distribution, the committee members of the Gradiska municipal assembly noted the following: "Humanitarian aid in the area of the Gradiska municipality has been distributed without precisely established criteria, which could cause certain irregularities and mistakes, especially because of the lack of unified control. Among the humanitarian organizations," it was noted at the municipal assembly meeting, "there was not enough coordination in the distribution of the aid received, which could result in certain irregularities, which, among other things, are seen in the provision of multiple aid to the same people."

The disorganized collection of aid by most humanitarian organizations, including those abroad, has caused discontinuity in the arrival of humanitarian aid.... "The collection of foreign exchange funds," as the conclusions from the meeting of the Gradiska municipal assembly emphasized, "has not been done through a foreign exchange account, as a result of which it is impossible to monitor the conversion of the foreign exchange funds into dinars...."

On the basis of these observations at the meeting of the municipal assembly, special conclusions were adopted, which stated, among other things: "Work on collecting

humanitarian aid is essential. It is necessary to devote due attention to that activity in order to eliminate all the irregularities and enhance positive experiences. In connection with this, the municipal assembly's executive council should urgently form a municipal commission for the distribution of humanitarian aid, in accordance with the decree on the coordinated collection, method of recording, and distribution of all types of aid intended for the population of the Serbian Republic, with the assignment, among other things, of controlling the collection and distribution of humanitarian aid, and the organizations engaged in that activity are obligated to deliver monthly reports."

In order for this activity to take place as it should, it was decided that an assembly commission should be formed to ensure organization of the work on collecting humanitarian aid abroad, and separate the collection of aid from the distribution, with the provision that its distribution should be centralized.

By the municipal assembly's decision, all humanitarian and other organizations are obligated in the future to receive all monetary aid through appropriate foreign exchange and dinar accounts, and to conduct the distribution of food and material necessities on the basis of developed criteria. Furthermore, all humanitarian organizations must show a higher degree of mutual cooperation, consideration, and information. The appropriate bodies will conduct the necessary control of the legality of work by all entities working on the collection of aid during the process of conducting an inventory and preparing final accounts, and will inform the municipal assembly about this.

The municipal assembly assigned the Center for Social Work, as an institution that monitors the situation in the area of social security and the population's needs, to prepare a social welfare chart of the population by local communities, for the sake of a better distribution of humanitarian aid.

Deputy Prime Minister on U.S. Bosnian Policy

93BA0674A Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 27 Feb 93 p 10

[Interview with Bosian Deputy Prime Minister Zlatko Lagumdzija by Erich Rathfelder; place and date not given: "'Finally the United States Is in the Game'"]

[Text] *Zlatko Lagumdzija belongs to the younger generation of politicians in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He is a member of the "Liberal Party," in which all groups of the population are represented and which therefore was not formed along ethnic lines.*

[Rathfelder] In Sarajevo, you, the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, called on the population to participate in a hunger strike. In Tuzla, the authorities threatened to use toxic chlorine gas. What do you intend to accomplish with such actions?

[Lagumdzija] Two weeks ago, our country appeared to be completely beaten. Hundreds of thousands in the enclaves Srebrenica, Zepa, Cerska, and Gorazde appeared to be destined to starve to death. After all, more than 5,000 have already starved to death. At that time, all hopes for these people seemed to be in vain. We had every reason to despair. But now the situation has stabilized somewhat. In general, to be sure, I am not an optimist but recently we have again had reasons to be more optimistic.

[Rathfelder] Why, in your opinion, are the international organizations so cautious?

[Lagumdzija] Because they do not take an objective approach to the problem. To be objective would mean to collect and assess the facts and only then to draw the necessary conclusions. But they desire to bring about a compromise in that they want to convince all sides to make concessions. That is anything but being neutral and objective, however, for this approach awards the aggressor. In this way, they legitimize all previous crimes, the mass murders, and the raping. A friend of mine coined the saying: 1973 was the time of Watergate, in 1993 comes the time of UNgate.

[Rathfelder] Does the situation change somewhat with the new U.S. President Clinton?

[Lagumdzija] The essential thing about the Clinton plan is not what it contains. More important is the fact that the big player has finally come into the game. The United States cannot proceed like smaller powers, who often even show good will but ultimately can accomplish nothing. The United States simply cannot afford to be led around by the nose, for its prestige is at stake. Just to implement humanitarian aid more energetically could stabilize the overall situation. As for its content, however, we had expected more from the plan.

[Rathfelder] So with the hunger strike you wanted to force the United States to take a bigger step.

[Lagumdzija] Above all we wanted to force the United Nations and its humanitarian-aid organization UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] either to help the besieged people in Srebrenica, Gorazde, Zepa, and Cerska or to admit that the entire mission has failed. Still, the problem is now being discussed.

[Rathfelder] But that has not produced any results.

[Lagumdzija] We must wait and see. Certainly the measures that have been announced so far such as the high-altitude airdrops are not necessarily promising. Still, President Clinton's six points have changed the atmosphere somewhat, for under his version Croats, Serbs, and Bosnians are partners in the negotiations. He did not speak of Muslims but said Bosnians. He is thereby accepting reality, for here in Sarajevo Muslims, Catholics, Orthodox, and unbelievers stand together.

[Rathfelder] Are you becoming more self-confident as the Bosnia Army is able to assert itself?

[Lagumdzija] Naturally. This army did not exist at the start of the war. When people say that we control only 30 percent of Bosnian territory, we say: nine months ago we controlled nothing at all, whereas now it is 30 percent. The soldiers of the Yugoslav Army sat 200 meters away from here, from the government building. Now the Chetniks are lurking there. Nevertheless, we have held our ground. That is success!

[Rathfelder] So you just need weapons to be able to take the offensive?

[Lagumdzija] If the embargo did not exist, we would be much closer to peace.

[Rathfelder] How is that?

[Lagumdzija] It is quite simple. Mr. Karadzic is not concerned about UN resolutions. But there is one argument that he knows very well, namely that of power. The stronger we are, the more inclined he will be to negotiate. But if we are weak, then the Serbian side will not be deterred from mass murder. Militarily, that is, with respect to armament, our army is naturally still vastly inferior. The situation is reversed, however, with respect to motivation.

[Rathfelder] Do you really have friends in the world?

[Lagumdzija] Certainly Germany and Austria have given us the most political support and we are now counting on Clinton. Eagleburger is no longer in office and positive things are still happening as well. We could get very strong support from the Arab countries. Tens of thousands of fighters would come to us and weapons would be delivered. But we do not want that. We want not to be an Islamic enclave here but to remain an especially colorful spot in Europe. This is why we are hoping for help from Europe. If Europe cannot understand this, then the Muslims will become radicalized and then they will demand that we accept help from the Arab countries. But it has not yet reached that point.

I do not understand the attitude of Europe toward us. If we do not belong to Europe, then perhaps Mr. Karadzic does? Europe must make a choice. If we call for an intervention, it is not for American and European soldiers to climb over the mountains and capture Chetniks. That would be absolute nonsense (explosions of artillery shells in the background). Give us the chance to defend ourselves.

[Rathfelder] And what do you expect politically?

[Lagumdzija] Give us people who can translate the U.S., British, or Swiss Constitutions. But do not give us a model that exists nowhere else in the entire world. We do not want any new experiments. I recently said to Vance and Owen: "If you like your model so much, why do you not apply it in Great Britain or in the United States? Divide the United States up into regions, send the Dutch to Virginia, the Africans to the Missouri, the Germans to Texas, and the English and Irish who knows where. If the model works there, then we could talk about it here."

[Rathfelder] Seriously, what do you expect to happen in real politics?

[Lagumdzija] The way that the peace talks have been pursued so far, the whole mess here could end in a big war.

[Rathfelder] Can you explain that?

[Lagumdzija] World War I began here in Sarajevo and World War III can be triggered here. For this reason, the war in Sarajevo must be stopped (artillery shells land quite near).

[Rathfelder] Is that a dream or real politics?

[Lagumdzija] The answer: I sometimes think that the plan to divide up Bosnia does not really relate to Bosnia at all. Here it may not be a matter of finding a workable solution at all but rather it is just a question of how this plan affects Russia.

Ex-Prisoner on Atrocities by Muslims in Bosnia

93BA0669D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 93 p 13

[Article by Milan Momcilovic: "The Man From Bradina, a Village Which No Longer Exists"]

[Text] Pale, 17 Feb—Dragan Mrkajic just got out of the prison in Celebici, so he is a bit confused. Out of the dense darkness into the light, from prison to freedom. We cannot conceive that, but freedom seems to be confusing. As if he does not know what to do with it. His speech is broken:

"My wife and two children were supposed to be in Novi Sad, that is what I was told, and so I am going to look for them. Are they going to be surprised, because they did not believe, nor did I believe, that I would survive. I was involved in an attempt to defend the village, and they knew that."

Freedom on the Third Attempt

"They took us to the first exchange in December, but someone was missing, and they took us back. We came the second time on Christmas. There was a quarrel along the way, and the command was issued: Let's go back to the prison. We met with freedom on the third attempt, on 8 February at the Butmir Airport."

Dragan's village Bradina, some 40 km south of Sarajevo, no longer exists. Only the name remains. Last May, several thousand of Alija's assault troops came one evening and savagely murdered, set fire, plundered, and destroyed everything. In one evening, 80 people were killed and about 500 taken prisoner. Dragan hid that evening. The next day he watched from a hill as they carried the corpses to the front

of the church. They brought up a front-end loader and covered them with earth. Later, it rained and washed the earth from that mound.

A Human Torch

Dragan took refuge in the neighboring village Tarcin, but here they informed on him, and the Green Berets caught him in broad daylight. They surrounded the house. He jumped through a window with two other men, but right into the hands of the Muslims.

They spent two days in a silo, and then they were transferred to Celebici, to some concrete bunker which the army had made. They slept on the concrete.

"You can imagine, it was 120 cm wide, and I am 6 feet tall. Nonstop with bent knees. Do not even ask what it was like. All kinds of things happened. Beatings, torture, abuse, humiliation in every possible way. They would shut you up in a hole for 17 hours. You could not breathe, you would bang away. They would wrap a fuse for explosives around you, and then light it, which turned you into a torch. They would heat a knife and then stick it on your tongue, so that later you could not talk. They nailed a cockade on one man's forehead. Many did not survive. Among us, Mrkojic, Gligorevic, and Samojkovic died, and they killed Susic. We found Milosevic when they took us to the latrine.

"We ate grass, we drank urine, they forced us to...I cannot tell you, it is not something for the newspapers. They hit us with shovels, pipes, pieces of iron, and sticks. They taught us to pray to Allah the way they do. God save you from praying to someone else's god.

"They sat us down in a ditch with just our heads sticking out, and then they kicked us with their boots on, shouting all the while: 'Here is your cross for you, here is your cross for you,' alluding to the International Red Cross, whose representatives had come to see conditions in the prison.

"They forced us, brother, to do everything. We dug trenches for them from which they would fight the Serbs. We loaded coal and boots, we chopped wood, we shook plum trees. They would come, point their finger at you, and take you home to work for them."

Three Prisons

"There were three prisons: nine, 22, and six. They wanted to do away with nine. It supposedly had the most dangerous people. A certain Zenga killed and tortured the most. He was particularly angry because of the arrival of the International Red Cross, which saved us.

"The Red Cross, you see, gave us those papers where we were recorded as war prisoners, and after that it was easier. They brought us a wooden bed without bedclothes. They allowed the women to bring us food from the village, they did not beat us as much. Now, 105 of us have been exchanged, and the rest imprisoned in Celebici have been transferred to Konjic.

"We left, leaving the Muslims and Croats to dispute over Konjic. Things had become strained, they almost went after one another. Near Konjic, there are between 8,000 and 10,000 armed Muslims, most of whom came from Gorazde, Nevesinje, and Gacko"—Dragan Mrkajic, former trucker from the village Bradina, which no longer exists, concluded his personal account.

Conflict in Bihac Muslim Leadership Reported

93BA0671C Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 93 p 6

[Article by P.D.: "Fire Lit in Bihac"]

[Text] *One evening on Bihac television Fikret Abdic characterized the formation of the Bihac Okrug Assembly as an illegal and illegitimate action, and its chairman, Irfan Ljubijankic, reacted to that.*

Bihac, 13 Feb—Fikret Abdic, who is addressed in Bihac and the vicinity as a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, while appearing on Bihac television on Wednesday evening, stated among other things that the formation of the Bihac Okrug Assembly was illegitimate and illegal.

That Assembly was established about a month before the outbreak of the war in the former Bihac region, and consists of representatives of the four Muslim opstinas in the Bihac-Cazin Krajina: Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and the Muslim part of the Krupa opstina. Its first chairman was Irfan Ljubijankic, who is also president of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] in Bihac; the chairman of the Executive Committee was Mirsad Veladzic, who was recently replaced when a new one, Zlatko Jusic, was elected.

Last night Assembly Chairman Irfan Ljubijankic reacted through Bihac television to that statement by Abdic. On that occasion he said:

"I am inviting Fikret Abdic, since I am not in the habit of talking about people who are not in front of me, to come in front of Bihac television's camera so that we can hold a little public dialogue before the public and present our arguments. Since I know that Abdic is a brave man, I expect that he will accept this proposal. It is sufficient for me to say that we did not form this Assembly so that Chetniks would already be strolling through our country."

The fire was thus lit in Bihac. That was actually the goal of Abdic, who went to overthrow Alija's proteges in this area. He started in the Velika Kladusa opstina, and there overthrew Mirsad Veladzic, the president of the Velika Kladusa government, a person who had taken over his role, his and Ljubijankic's, along with Nenad Ibrahimpasic, the Bihac mayor. Abdic wanted to overthrow him even earlier. He tried, but did not succeed. In the second position he succeeded in Velika Kladusa, moved on, and stirred things up in Bihac. The fishing rod was cast—we know for whom. The first fish has already opened its mouth. When it is caught, it will be easier to catch the other one.

Serb Krajina President Links Talks to Withdrawal

LD1103214793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2109 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Knin, March 11 (TANJUG)—President of the U.N.-protected republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic said on Thursday [11 March] that a resumption of peace talks with Croatia depended on whether Croatia would withdraw from the RSK territories it occupied in the January 22 aggression.

"The resumption of the talks in Geneva primarily depends on the implementation of item one of Security Council Resolution 802 ordering Croatia to unconditionally withdraw to behind the U.N. truce line," Hadzic told reporters in Knin, the administrative centre of the RSK.

It is only then that we can negotiate about the Maslenica Bridge, the Peruca hydropower dam and the Zemunik airport which Croatia seized in its onslaught on the southern part of the RSK, said Hadzic.

Croatia stubbornly ignores the U.N. orders to withdraw from the occupied territories, and continues its offensive.

Hadzic said the RSK delegation would not sign any document that would be detrimental to the interests of the Serb people, and said their key interest was the RSK's independence.

The RSK was proclaimed in 1991 in predominantly Serb-populated territories within the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, following Croatia's violent secession from Yugoslavia.

Our delegation to the talks in Geneva was treated as a state delegation, said Hadzic and explained the treatment indicated a chance of Krajina's recognition which, in his opinion, was conditional on the situation in Krajina itself.

As far as the RSK is concerned, there are no "pink zones", said Hadzic and added that referendums might be held there but only after peace had been restored.

The "pink zones" are areas along the demarcation line where Serbs constitute the majority or a considerable minority. They are administered by RSK civilian authorities.

Croatia wants to establish its own rule in the "pink zones" through U.N. peacekeepers.

Hadzic said the situation on the front was stable and the RSK Army was ready to respond to any Croatian attack.

He also said the RSK parliament would convene soon and that a government of experts would be formed.

Skrabalo Returns From Benelux Tour, Makes Statement

LD1103183593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Croatia's Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo, who led a state delegation on a Benelux tour, returned to Zagreb this afternoon. Minister Skrabalo made the following statement upon his arrival at Zagreb Airport:

[Begin Skrabalo recording] We discussed aid, but greater emphasis was laid on the political aspects of our crisis, and on the lack of understanding of Croatia's stand. There was lack of understanding especially in connection with Maslenica [bridge]; we explained the situation and there is now a greater understanding of this problem.

Special emphasis was laid on UN Resolution 762 regarding the deployment of UN troops along the borders between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia and Serbia, and Croatia and Montenegro. In this way extremists in the Krajinas and UN Protected Areas would be isolated and the whole situation would be different. We had intensive talks on this subject. It is natural that they [not further specified] insisted on Resolution 802, which calls for the withdrawal of the Croatian Army, etc. However, talks on this are continuing in Geneva and New York and their outcome will most likely be favorable for our side, and this territory will remain under Croatian control. These are just the details which have not yet been agreed, but the talks are continuing.

[Unidentified correspondent] Did you discuss economic questions?

[Skrabalo] Yes, we did. We practically agreed with Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg that our economic delegations will visit these countries, and that we will attempt with these countries—although they are small, they have incredibly developed investments abroad and imports—with regard to expanding [relations]. I must say that our trade missions in Brussels are doing a very good job. Mr [name indistinct] and Mr. Jakovcevic are now going there and the whole thing is working very well. [end recording]

Tudjman, Iran's Va'ezi View Muslim-Croat Conflict

LD1103184793 Tehran IRNA in English 1802 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 11, IRNA—Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi in talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman Thursday [11 Mar], called for the strengthening of an allied front against Serbian aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina, an Iranian official said here.

On the second day of his official visit to Croatia, Va'ezi, who heads the European-American desk in the Iranian

Foreign Ministry, passed a verbal message from President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani to the Croatian head of state.

At a meeting in the presidential palace here on the situation in the Balkans, Va'ezi pointed out that recent conflicts between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina were not to the benefit of either side.

Cooperation and good ties between Muslims and Croats must result in terminating the clashes, he said, otherwise they will result in the common enemy (the rebel Serbs) coming closer to fulfilling his military and political goals.

Muslims and Croats, nominal allies in the Bosnian civil war, have been fighting each other for the past two months in cent[illegible]osnia, which Croats claim as their own free sta[illegible]

Va'ezi supp[illegible]stablishment of a just peace which would take acco[illegible]nt of the interests of the Bosnian people.

According to Iranian source, President Tudjman agreed that the Muslim-Croat conflict was detrimental to both sides and that the two nations must have good and peaceful relations. His country, he added, would do its best to remove misunderstanding and conflict between them.

The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina was very difficult, the president said. Embargoes were still being imposed and the attitude of the international community on Serbian aggression remained unchanged.

Both officials ultimately insisted on ways of expanding relations and ending the Muslim-Croat conflict.

Tudjman thanked the Iranian president for his message and declared interest in expanding economic ties with the Islamic Republic.

Relations between Croatia and Iran had been good in the past, Va'ezi said, and following Croatia's independence, the exchange of visits by high-ranking officials had established a firm basis for continued expansion of relations in all fields.

Sarinic Letter Appeals for Financial Aid for Refugees

LD1103183293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Hrvoje Sarinic, president of the Croatian Government, has sent a letter to the U.S. secretary of state and the heads of government of European countries, Turkey, and Israel, and the chairmen of international humanitarian organizations, pointing out that Croatia is supporting 652,125 refugees from Croatia and Bosnia- Hercegovina. The continuation of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is directly threatening the security of the Republic of Croatia. New refugees are constantly crossing Bosnia-Hercegovina's borders and streaming into Croatia. The burden of supporting displaced persons and refugees being shouldered by Croatia would overstretch the economies of highly developed countries.

Serbia's recent conquests are increasingly exacerbating this problem, thus bringing the refugee crisis to the point of an uncontrollable explosion of unforeseeable consequences for Europe's security and stability.

We face the fact that the return of the displaced persons and refugees to the UN protected area and pink zones has not yet been secured. On the contrary, the Croats and other non-Serbs continue to be driven from these areas, the letter continues.

While fully respecting international humanitarian law and human rights the Republic of Croatia is caring, well beyond its means, for this huge number of displaced persons and refugees. The total cost of supporting them last year, borne by the Republic of Croatia, is estimated at $1,381,911,860. Of course, this year's total budgetary cost of providing for the displaced persons and refugees will again top $1 billion. Well beyond its means, the Republic of Croatia provides the refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina with full basic health care and education, something that is reflected in a deficit of $62.5 million incurred by the health care service and $26 million in the educational system.

Following our repeated appeals to the international community to help evenly shoulder the burden of the worst refugee crisis since World War II, the Republic of Croatia has so far received—and on this occasion we also express our gratitude for this—direct financial aid from the EC amounting to five out of the total of 15 million ECUs [European Currency Unit] earmarked as compensation for part of the cost of organizing hotel accommodation for the displaced persons and refugees, as well as the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees aid earmarked for those families in Croatia who provided accommodation for the refugees amounting to $10.5 million and its direct financial aid, amounting to $5 million, of which $2 million has already been received, as partial compensation for providing health care for refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Despite the fact that this first financial aid gives us hope, the situation is nevertheless still unbearable.

The reserves at the disposal of the Republic of Croatia have been totally exhausted, leaving no other option to us but to address this appeal for help to Your Excellency and the world's other developed countries in order to alleviate the tragedy of the war-stricken population. We particularly draw attention to the grave state of health care and the educational system of the Republic of Croatia, the letter states.

Rumors Circulate of Government Reshuffle

AU1103165993 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] It has been learned from sources close to the Croatian Government that several personnel changes will shortly take place in the government.

Deputy Prime Minister Mladen Vedris is expected to resign soon. Supposedly, he will discuss this with Croatian President Tudjman today. Owing to the government's inefficiency, Franjo Kajfes, Minister of Industry and Energy, is also expected to tender his resignation.

One can sense considerable dissatisfaction of the political and general Croatian public with the inefficiency of the government of Prime Minister Sarinic, as it has been unable to overcome the grave economic and social crisis.

'Secret' Slavonian Serb-Croat Agreement Alleged

AU1203115593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by Branislav Gulan: "A Treacherous Act"]

[Text] After the Croatian aggression on 22 January, in the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] there is a continuous state of emergency. Although there has not been any shooting in western Slavonia, on 18 February in Daruvar a part of the RSK leadership signed a secret agreement with the Croatian authorities. This agreement, composed of 11 paragraphs, refers to normalizing the situation in that region of the RSK, first and foremost to reopening the Belgrade-Zagreb freeway, and also reopening railway traffic. The agreement met with the severe condemnation of the Krajina authorities, who described it as a irresponsible, naive, and treacherous act.

Goran Hadzic, president of the RSK, commented to BORBA, on the issue:

"There have been no clashes in western Slavonia, yet some of the leadership arbitrarily signs a "secret" agreement with Croatia. Certainly, no one is going to support such a trend, because it is a betrayal of the Serbian people. Our course is well known: We shall never again live in one state with Ustasha-like authorities. Despite everything that has been going on, we are keeping the situation under control. We expect the Croats to sign the arrangement that we have proposed, and withdraw to the positions prior to 22 January. In the days to follow we shall visit that area, and talk to people, to solve all the problems that have ensued, of which there are many. I have to emphasize that it is a Serbian ethnic area, and will remain as such. Certain self-proclaimed leaders from western Slavonia, however, are making separate agreements with Croats, without the cognition of the RSK leadership. Agreements themselves are not as dangerous as is the intention to partially solve Serb problems. Such intentions are not in the interest of the Serbian people."

"We are not against reopening roads," Hadzic adds. "If Croatia signs what we have offered in Geneva, we shall also discuss reopening the freeway.... Of course, only when the Croats withdraw from the occupied territories, and when we call off the state of emergency. It is true that in those regions there are many war profiteers, as well as many other problems, and therefore I support demands for an urgent meeting of the RSK Assembly."

Mile Paspalj, chairman of the RSK Assembly, underlines that "the Serbian ideological enemies are, again, the same ones who in this half of the century twice signed various agreements and contracts, that actually meant the destruction of Serbs in this region. Those are the people from western Slavonia. By their operations, they are trying to push the Serbian people for a third time into an abyss. Ideological enemies are also those who left the region when the war started. Those various negotiators only harm the Serbian people, just as has happened these days with the secret agreement. Croatia is offering 200 million German marks to those negotiators, aiming at breaking us up, and getting a hold over us. It is a well-known fact that the Croatian side is offering everything—except a state. There are 546,000 Serbs living in Croatia now, while about 300,000 fled. They will never want to return here, even if they live in Croatia.

Although the aforementioned agreement should have been secret, the Croatian side made it public as soon as it was signed, so that the names of certain signatories attracted attention: Veljko Dzakula, until recently deputy prime minister of the RSK, and Dusan Ecimovic, the former minister of information. The current RSK authorities condemn the very act of signing and negotiating with the Croatian side at a time when war operations are still going on, and when the delegation of Serbs in New York and Geneva, before the eyes of the international community, refuses to negotiate with the Croatian side. We also condemn such an agreement with Croatia because it gives Croats the opportunity to claim that there are Serbs who are always ready to cooperate, as opposed to those from Knin. To cut a long story short, we regard such an act as irresponsible, naive, and treacherous."

It is quite obvious that in the RSK, while the war is going on, there is also a fight for "chairs". They accuse one another of bargaining over Krajina, at the same time claiming that they will not allow Krajina to be sold. The political opposition charges the ruling circle with responsibility for everything negative that has happened in Krajina since the time of the suspension of the chairman in Borovo Selo.

To all these accusations Hadzic, Paspalj, and the rest of their flock have the following response:

"The Croatian side is on the move, which means toward signing the arrangement that we offered. We are ready to put the Maslenica bridge, the Zemunik airport, and the Peruca dam under the control of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. The agreement also specifies

reopening the "blue road" from Maslenica to Zadar. It would also be supervised by the peacekeeping forces, which would guarantee the safety of all the parties," the leading people of the RSK forecast.

UN Peacekeepers Denied 'Freedom of Movement'

LD1103214093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2057 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—Members of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia increasingly frequently have problems with exercising their freedom of movement, which is indispensable if they are to discharge their mission, TANJUG's reporter was told at UNPROFOR's Belgrade office on Thursday [11 March].

UNPROFOR officials said their troops were frequently encountering movement restrictions in the U.N. Protected Areas (UNPAS). The Danish battalion, in particular, has problems in sector north (Banija, Kordun), because Croatian police behave as customs officers.

On January 22, Croatia breached a U.N.-brokered truce and attacked the southern parts of the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.). The offensive continues in spite of the U.N. Security Council's order to Croatia to withdraw to behind the truce line.

The officials said that fighting was continuing on Mt. Velebit in sector south (the Knin Krajina, Lika) and that the artillery shelling of Sibenik on the Croatian littoral was causing tension and creating a pretext for Croatia's retaliation.

The UNPROFOR officials further informed about an extremely difficult humanitarian situation in sector south where the peacekeepers were delivering relief supplies to the refugees and the local population.

Instances of human rights violations—bombings, arsons, looting—against all nations have been reported in all sectors, TANJUG learned at the UNPROFOR Belgrade office.

RSK Army Reports Croatian Artillery Attack on Obrovac

LD1203123793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1206 GMT 12 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, March 12 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army launched an artillery attack against the vicinity of Obrovac, a town in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, a United Nations protected area, on Friday morning [12 March].

The Republic of Serbian Krajina Army General Staff said on Friday that a general alert had been declared in Obrovac and Serbian settlements in the vicinity. For the present there are no data on the number of casualties, said the statement.

Croatian artillery fired eight shells on Thursday afternoon on Benkovac, wounding three civilians, said the statement. Benkovac is a town in the Adriatic coast hinterland in the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Croatia launched an aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina on January 22, during which over 1,000 Serbs were killed, of which 830 civilians, while all Serbian villages have been torched and destroyed.

Croatia refuses to abide by a UN Security Council resolution and return its units to their initial positions.

RSK Prime Minister Zecevic on Dismissals

93BA0669C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 93 p 9

[Article by M. Cetnik: "All the Changes of Ministers and Officials Legal"]

[Text] Mr. Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], has not exposed himself to public statements recently, although at some point the alarming political shifts in the government and around it did evoke numerous reactions in the public. Mr. Zecevic interprets this reserve in terms of his position that the most important thing is for the Krajina authorities to function within the confines of the Constitution and the law and in pursuit of the interests of the entire people.

The media dimension of reality and the spectacle produced around the disagreement in the top leadership of the Krajina government are secondary for Zecevic. However, it is obvious from the tone of Zecevic's responses that the controversial assessments of what has been happening in the government, in which his name is also mentioned, have evoked a certain bitterness on the part of the prime minister of the Krajina Republic.

The First Half and the Second Half

"I am primarily interested in the first half, that is, the Serbian people's fight against fascism and the Ustashi. The second half, which will begin after realization of our objective, does not interest me, by contrast with others. In that second half, I certainly will not be a candidate," Zecevic says.

Commenting on the changes in the government, Zecevic emphasized that he is looking for better solutions concerning personnel and that all the changes of ministers and officials are legal. In connection with the departure of Defense Minister Stojan Spanovic and the unfavorable assessments that followed on that account, especially those expressed in the interview which Milan Martic gave to Knin Radio, Zecevic said that he is offended by the words used to describe the government's attitude toward military officers.

"We desire and esteem honest patriots and officers, who are indispensable to us. However, we have incomparably more officers in headquarters and fewer in units in the field," Zecevic says.

Zecevic answered the question of what he thinks about the arrival of General Vuk Obradovic in Knin as follows:

"I said that no one is going to ride on a white horse into any cities at Krajina's expense."

The Krajina prime minister welcomed all the volunteers who have come to Krajina, but he thinks that certain adventurers and people who have come to Krajina for their own advancement cannot be identified as volunteers.

The RSK Is Not a Police State nor a Military State, but a Democratic State

"The Republic of Serbian Krajina," Zecevic says, "will not be a police state, nor a military state, but a democratic and law-governed state. We will not allow a demonstration of force and power on political issues. Thus, recently a group of six armed policemen broke into government offices on behalf of an intervention which could have been carried out in a less striking way."

"You have been fiercely criticized because of the situation in the Belgrade office of the Krajina government and because Milan Grkovic, former director of Krajina Radio-TV, was appointed to that office?"

"I feel that our bureau in Belgrade is doing its job well. Immediately after the Croatian aggression, they began mobilization, and they have had quite a bit of success in it. I personally did not even know that that mobilization would be undertaken. And when they talk about all those conspiratorial departments, about the various UDBA's [state security services] and KOSovites [KOS = Counterintelligence Service], I must tell you that those departments do not interest me and I never think in those terms," were Zecevic's words.

The signing of the Vance plan, viewed from this vantage point in time, was a good move according to Zecevic, because the Serbs in Krajina gained time. This was a needed respite in which the young Krajina state stabilized. However, Zecevic was explicit, everything that has been "tailored and agreed" about the future of the Republic of Serbian Krajina outside its legitimate bodies and apart from the will of the people "simply will not pass."

Serbian Refugee From Croatia on Loss of Homeland

93BA0668B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 93 p 8

[Interview with P.B., a 36-year-old Serbian engineer who fled from Croatia, by Gordana Susa; place and date not given: "I Have No Homeland, I Am Looking for a New One"]

[Text] "I want to go as far as possible from the Balkans, because there is every indication that there will be total war. Look, just in the time from 15 January until a few days ago the Croatian Army increased from 110,000 to 210,000 men. They are taking 16-year-olds from their jobs and from school. They are mostly mobilizing the Serbs. They serve as cannon fodder in the new offensives. At Maslenica, the Serbs represented between 20 and 30 percent. They were in the front ranks. They died. Isn't that absurd? Who is fighting for whom here?"

This is the resigned talk of P.B., a man who does not want his full name published, because his wife and children have remained in Zagreb, and the neighbors there believe that he is already working in Germany. He is frightened even here in Belgrade of being "detected" and mobilized for the Krajina or Serbian Republic. Belgrade is just a way station for him.

The Serbs Are Becoming Catholics

He is 36 years old, he is an engineer, he is a Serb born in Sibenik, he is the father of two little girls, his wife is Croatian, he owns two houses—one on the coast, one in Zagreb. After he was discharged from a prestigious construction firm solely because he is a Serb, he came to Belgrade to avoid mobilization in Croatia.

[Susa] You are a Serb, and your family has been living in Sibenik for 500-600 years. How does all that has been happening in Croatia affect your relations with your closest kin?

[P.B.] Of the six of us brothers and sisters, and we never thought about who is what nationality—three are in mixed marriages. I am unfortunately aware of that now, because we have parted from one another. The offer they made to my brother, who was unemployed and has a family, a wife on sick leave, and a sister married to a Croatian soldier, was to renounce us! It is a pity when a man is forced every day to think how he is going to prove that he is a good Croat.

[Susa] That production of proof did not start yesterday?

[P.B.] I began to feel it all directly back in 1989. As a construction worker, I was working abroad. When I came home for the usual vacation, they kept me and other Serbs in the firm; they did not want to send us back out of the country. We waited to be transferred to a new job. The new job was as porters, to work as doormen. Then came the wait for mandatory leave. And discharge. When Tudjman won in 1991, outright ethnic euphoria began. I sensed that friends of long standing were quietly abandoning me and avoiding me. Like it or not, a man withdraws into himself and becomes superfluous to himself.

My daughter enrolled in the first grade. She had to say whether she was going to take religion or not. How can you say that you do not want to, when I had seen how a Croatian family in Velika Gorica had suffered, people who were simply atheists, but they had to move because

their children were mistreated by other children? And then, what could we do but say: She will take religion! But you give them your finger, and they want your arm. And more and more. Then they adopted rules to the effect that children must attend weekly masses. This is monitored by the religion teacher. They took special satisfaction in putting the Serbian children in the choir to sing in the service on the Catholic Christmas Eve. My little girl, who was not even seven, had to wait away from home late at night and sing.

[Susa] Does that mean that most of the Serbs who live in the cities of Croatia are taking their children to the Catholic Church?

[P.B.] Yes, that has become a rule without which it is not possible to survive in that environment.

[Susa] You spoke about brothers and sisters, but what about your mother and father?

[P.B.] I have not known anything about my father for two years now. I do not even know if he is alive, nor whether he was forced to go to war. Back in 1991, he was accused of an attempt at armed rebellion against the government. Imagine, a man 75 years old! In two trials, they were unable to prove anything against him. He was exchanged in that first prisoner exchange, and I only know that he was taken to Knin. My mother—I was able to keep in touch with her while I was in Zagreb—is in Sibenik, taking care of the house. My brother and sisters help her. Even the people at the Red Cross refuse to give her any help.

And when I experienced being expelled from the Mountain-Climbing Club—it was an open vote—only because I was of another nationality, and when the few friends I had left sincerely advised me to convert, I decided to leave.

[Susa] But if all Serbs in Croatia thought like that, or all the Croats in Serbia, then the idea of the national leaders who began this war would be realized?

Will the Partisans Come?

[P.B.] I have been trying everything, and I still am not giving up. I am among the 100 most active people in the Serbian Democratic Forum in Croatia. We are in favor of life together with the Croats, in favor of respect for civil rights, human rights, and cultural autonomy. However, even all the Serbs in Croatia are not united. Dr. Milan Djukic of the Serbian National Party [SNS], which is nothing other than Tudjman's long hand (and Tudjman keeps them as a graph in order to have "proof" that there are Serbs in the Croatian Government), throws mud at our Democratic Forum. We are not interested in power. First of all, we are trying to help people—from free legal advice and representation by a lawyer to financial aid for the most indigent families. The Serbs have no rights at all. For example, under Croatian law I have no right even to my own children: Because their mother is a Croat, they are Croatian children! I have no right to my real estate either, nor to my job. I have only the right, as Stipe Mesic said, to cross the Drina in my peasant sandals. On the Orthodox Christmas Eve in Zagreb, the Preobrazenskaya Church on Flower Square was not big enough for all the people. More than 1,500 people came. This was a rebellion of Serbs, who wanted to be heard, to send a message over the media to the world to help. But the miracle did not happen. On the contrary, still greater mistreatment began with the Orthodox New Year. The most pitiable of all is that even the Orthodox priests are fleeing and leaving their people. The bishop of Zagreb and Ljubljana was the first to flee. There is not a single Orthodox priest in Split, Sibenik, or Zadar!

Now even the Croats who are not members of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] feel threatened; they are experiencing repression, and they are being discharged. Apathy reigns in Zagreb, and no one is initiating anyone because of the removal of professors in the School of Philosophy at Zagreb University.... Dr. Zarko Puhovski and Dr. Milorad Pupovac are under attack because of their orientation toward Yugoslavia.... Some 10 days ago, they fired a mathematics teacher on the recommendation of the school principal because she said "tacka" instead of "tocka" [the Serbian instead of the Croatian word for "period"]. The justification was that she does not know the Croatian language.

[Susa] Where will all this end?

[P.B.] My heart tells me that the new Ustashi and Chetniks will be joined by new Partisans. Presumably, God will leave some people alive who are not concerned with either an expanded Croatia or an expanded Serbia or Muslimania, but are only interested in living in peace and doing jobs from which they can live well. To travel around in the world and not to be afraid of whether someone will hate them in advance or love them only because they are Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Muslims.... It is hard on my wife and little girls there. She certainly will not be able for a long time to withstand the pressure of the "Serbian whore." I still hope that all reasonable people will join together and act against the national-fascists in an organized way. If that does not happen soon, my family and I, because we do not have a homeland, will be choosing some new one—far from the Balkans.

I came here fleeing from hell, and I have come upon the beginning of hell's creation. In Belgrade, I meet people who are lost, refugees whom no one understands. As though they are to blame for having lost everything they had. Even all their hope. Here I am a foreigner, just like they are. I know no one, and I speak differently. I encounter misery, torture by television, the same as over Croatian TV, which like Maria Theresa, offers cake when people do not even have bread.... I have no homeland.

[Box, p 8]

Muslims Also Under Attack

"Croatia has become a police state and a fascist country. The Serbs are the main target, but they are not the only ones. Now recently the authorities have aimed at the Muslims," P.B. continues. "Not only is it keeping them in ghettos, but it is expelling them from hospitals even though they are weak and sick. According to the most recent poll of GLOBUS in Zagreb, last week 51 percent of the citizens responding were in favor—if the conflict persists between the Bosnian Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], of the Muslims being deported to Bosnia or some other country! Does that help you to understand the kind of atmosphere there is there? There is also repression against Croats who do not think like the party in power. They have purged all the media, they have even put the last free newspaper, SLOBODNA DALMATIA, under the watchful eye of the government," says P.B.

Supreme Court President Interviewed

93BA0651B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 93 pp 24-26

[Interview with Supreme Court President Milan Vukovic, by Hloverka Novak-Srzic; date and place not given: "Things Are Not as Bleak as They Are Made Out To Be"]

[Text] *The Supreme Court is reviewing the work of the Okrug Economic Court in the areas of registration and bankruptcy.*

For days, it was practically impossible to gain access to Mr. Milan Vukovic. Not because he is reluctant to see journalists, because that is simply not Vukovic's style; rather, it was because he had too much work to do. Specifically, after a long, successful career as a lawyer, Milan Vukovic was appointed president of the Croatian Supreme Court, and ex officio chairman of the Election Commission of the Republic of Croatia. His extensive work on the elections is finally done, but a new structure for the Croatian judiciary is the new task facing Milan Vukovic. He says that major media promotion is not appropriate for judges. He finds it hard to agree to newspaper interviews, but he does acknowledge that the elections are nevertheless important enough to provide an adequate pretext for an interview. Once the interview begins, however, Mr. Vukovic does not avoid a single subject. Of course, we must begin with the elections.

[Novak-Srzic] To what extent are you, as chairman of the Election Commission of the Republic of Croatia, satisfied with the work done, and what was the hardest thing for you during those several days and nights when figures were being collected from the field?

[Vukovic] It was not a couple of days and a couple of nights, but rather a major job beginning on 6 January and continuing up to the critical date, 7 February, but also including those three or four days up to 11 February. Thus, we are talking about two months. We also had plenty to do after 11 February. This job was carried out not only by members of the Election Commission of the Republic of Croatia, comprising 10 competent judges from the Supreme, Administrative, and Economic Courts, but also by an enormous administrative team of personnel, experts from the information center, and many others. The type of work that this involves is adequately indicated by the fact that we on the election commission composed 975 written instructions, forms, documents, and written responses to questions raised. I believe that the Croatian public is very well-informed about the significance of these elections. These elections, which in practice were held on three levels—on the opcina, zupanija, and republic levels—were supposed to put into effect a democratic structure for the Croatian state and its state administration. In addition, we must acknowledge all the high-ranking officials who have exercised restraint in the development of our republic even under conditions of war, in such a way that now it has begun to assume its physical form based on the legal order of a settled state. I can say and evaluate that these elections were conducted in the best possible way, both in the legal sense of the word and in terms of execution. I think that this was helped along by the enthusiasm of the members of all the commissions, and of all others, of whom around 55,000 were involved, both at the polling places and on the commissions.

[Novak-Srzic] Are the foreign observers as satisfied?

[Vukovic] There was not a single serious objection to the organization of the elections, nor a single serious objection to the conduct of the elections, if we do not take seriously the objection that there were no private booths at certain polling places. I would not be willing to take seriously their objection to these elections when they ask why the party structure of the election commissions was not also reflected in the voter committees. That is not an objection; that is their fundamental objection to the legal formulation. As members of the commission, we conducted these elections in such a way that they were in accordance with positive legal ordinances. I must say that the criticism concerning the content and way in which they were carried out was not strong enough to require any special reaction by the election commission. I took my duty very seriously; I knew that these were historic elections that would only affirm democratic rule in Croatia, and for that reason I wanted them not to be tainted by anything in that regard. One morning, we found the sticker of one of the political parties on our door. I ordered that it be removed, but also that someone check every morning to make sure that no one had put something inside and then called in a photographer-reporter to ask what this is all about. These are small things that I think, given the seriousness of political parties in Croatia and the seriousness of the media, will gradually disappear.

[Novak-Srzic] It is known that TV Slavonia did not adhere to the election blackout. What sort of sanctions

have you undertaken against that TV station as well as others that did not comply with that election regulation?

[Vukovic] It is a fact that Slavonian television violated the election blackout. The commission considered this a violation. In that regard, we wrote a memorandum indicating that the commission considers that a serious violation, and asked that they read our letter within the deadline, and they obeyed us. The election commission does not have the option of imposing sanctions because the legal ordinance is such. Perhaps the law could be changed so that effective action can in fact be taken. Although I must say that this idea of a preelection blackout is interpreted here very restrictively. For example, in the rest of the world a preelection blackout could not be called that, because local radio stations are not obligated to comply with it. That is how it is in the United States, for example. Because if you were to have a preelection blackout in the full sense of the word, then you would have to remove all posters all over Croatia on that day.

[Novak-Srzic] As president of the Supreme Court, can you tell us what sort of changes the Croatian judiciary has undergone since the Croatian state was established, especially with regard to the fact that the "revolutionary" judiciary was one of the pillars of the previous regime?

[Vukovic] That is a very serious subject. The biggest thing to happen in Croatia with regard to the judiciary and to the building of a rule-of-law state in general is that the judiciary has finally become autonomous and independent and that it has wrenched free from the system of unified government that lasted for 45 years. This fact demands of all institutions in the Croatian state that they permit the creation of the type of autonomous judicial authority that is one of the main pillars of state order. I would not dream of challenging objections to the work of judges or judicial authorities, but I would like to focus attention on the difficulty of forcing through new, modern, and constitutionally based principles for structuring judicial authority. While in the system of unified government judicial authority functioned as a service to the Bolshevik-communist party, today it is an autonomous and independent authority that should be treated as such by all factors and should function as such quite normally, meaning that the judiciary should have laws pertaining to its functions in this regard and a content as set out by the Constitution. Objectively speaking, states that have emerged at the historic turning point of the collapse of the Bolshevik-communist system and that are still at war have not yet been able to do everything to see to it that the judiciary functions fully. But we are on our way to resolving this. We have before us a draft law on a state judiciary council, on the basis of which it will be possible to perform an inventory of all personnel in the courts, which is an essential condition for the functioning of the judiciary. The state too must rely on people who want this very state, an independent and democratic Croatia. We also have before us a law on the courts, which is a lever for organizing judicial authority. We face an education solution. Specifically, we were unable to organize judicial authority until we had conducted these elections. Now we also have a need for an intermediate court between the supreme court and those courts that have been in service as okrug courts, so that we will have kotar courts, zupanija courts, higher zupanija courts, commercial courts, higher commercial courts, the constitutional court of the Republic of Croatia, and above all of them, the Supreme Court.

[Novak-Srzic] The judiciary obviously needs professional and honest judges?

[Vukovic] We must create the Croatian judge, we must educate new personnel, but I would not say that there are no honest judges among the existing judiciary personnel, as people often say on the streets. Within the personnel structure of the courts, judges were not to blame for the fact that no one could be a judge if they were not a party member.

[Novak-Srzic] What are the criteria for personnel changes? Some of the opposition is alleging that only communists are being replaced, while some even say that only Serbs are being replaced.

[Vukovic] Yesterday you asked me where the Supreme Court building is. That means that to you the Supreme Court was a fifth wheel that you never even thought about because you knew in advance that all of this is part and parcel of that court, that it is resolved even without your active participation. Things will no longer be that way, however, and the Croatian judiciary does not intend to behave in that way. The Croatian judiciary wants to become a foundation of the Croatian rule-of-law state. In order to do so, it must mobilize all the intellectual and physical abilities of all its judges who accept working within this context. And that is why I emphasized to you that the law on the state judiciary council is a very important law that will now be introduced in the Assembly, because that state judiciary council will appoint judges no longer for three, four, or five years, but rather for life, but this appointment as judge for life will at the same time require of them completely different work, and they will have to respect the constitutional provision stating that judicial authority is autonomous and independent. A judge will be a judge. If he is unable to accept these criteria and this orientation, then he will not be able to work in the judiciary.

[Novak-Srzic] What are the reasons now that more and more judges are "fleeing" to become lawyers?

[Vukovic] I do not think much of people who manipulate professions like some sort of irrelevant matter. I was a lawyer for more than 30 years. I did not apply to work on the Constitutional Court, nor did I apply for this post as president of the Supreme Court. I was chosen, the Constitutional Court appointed me, and I accepted it because I believe that I must give the most I can for this—and especially this—Croatia, which I supported as a lawyer for 30 years, from day one.

[Novak-Srzic] Is it not perhaps because of the low salaries for judges?

[Vukovic] It is an issue not only of salaries, but of every thing else as well. Restoring the reputation of judges, using technology to observe the workings of the courts, all of this together makes the judge independent and gives him the image of a desirable figure in any society. I think that the focus of the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia will similarly create judges in our country who will be figures to whom respect is due. In this transitional period, one of our judges in Rijeka has fallen sick, on whom pressure was exerted concerning the registration of free customs zones. He was firm there because I told him to work honestly and conscientiously. People must be given support. I held a meeting with all the presidents of the okrug courts and told them, "Gentlemen, the working conditions for the judiciary are new, the position of the judiciary is new, and we are no longer ordinary judges; you are Croatian judges who must wipe the mud off the face of our homeland, the mud that has been thrown at us for 70 years. You must wipe it away with your honest intercession, with your honest work."

[Novak-Srzic] Among the public, and even in certain economic circles, there is criticism of the work of the economic courts. Mention is made here of the "partiality" of judges during bankruptcy proceedings and company transformations. Do you know of a case of a corrupt judge?

[Vukovic] We are fully aware of the press reports on occurrences that the press feels are infractions, and even your magazine writes about such things. Lately, in fact, the Supreme Court has been reviewing the work of the okrug economic court in the areas of registration and bankruptcy. But I must point out to you that the courts cannot act according to their own will. Courts conduct proceedings on the basis of claims by parties, and the republican counsel for the defense and the former republican okrug public prosecutor are just as much parties to the court as the others are. I must tell you that we have no knowledge whatsoever, or at least at this moment as I talk to you I do not know, of any criminal charges having been brought against any judge. I would like for you in the media to be more serious when you write and speak about this.

[Novak-Srzic] Are there courts over courts, or rather, is there any internal control over judges within the judiciary?

[Vukovic] When I came to this post and told the presidents of the okrug courts and the presidents of the okrug economic courts that we were going to set up one system of control cooperation, all the judges were satisfied. To me, that was a very positive sign. The Croatian state has been functioning for three years now, but systematic ordinances relating to judicial authority have yet to be enacted. It is true that there is the war. And at a meeting of the government presided over by Dr. Tudjman, there was talk of negative phenomena, crime, fraud, as well as the need to eliminate rumors. And they can be eliminated through an open approach. I would like to see your journalists come see where some things stop short when they are writing about that. They cannot stop short in court. When a brief arrives in court, it cannot disappear, and a very small number of proceedings can be declared closed. And any journalist can ask the president of the court department to let him see the brief. You must admit that it is very easy to slander a person. But it is very hard to wipe mud off a person's face. Judges are in an exposed position, they cannot hide, but it is also necessary that the press provide accurate information. When the opposition alleges that unfit judges are being replaced, then I ask them to say exactly who they are talking about. There were judges on this court who are now the presidents of borderland courts, in Knin, Samarica.... Does the opposition really want them to continue being judges here?

[Novak-Srzic] You were at a meeting of the government presided over by President Tudjman. There was plenty of discussion at that meeting of lawlessness. Was the judiciary mentioned in that context?

[Vukovic] That meeting was very inspiring, well-prepared. To your direct question I can say only that the judiciary was mentioned only insofar as it was connected with bankruptcies and the registration of these famous consulting firms. I asked at that meeting that the specific way in which courts and judicial authorities work be kept in mind, always reacting to claims put before them and unable to act ad hoc.

[Novak-Srzic] The previous slowness of the courts was well-known, and it appears that that practice is continuing. For example, the new Law on Information provided for large monetary compensation for slander and the violation of privacy, but also accelerated court proceedings. Thus far, however, that law has been applied in only one case. Why?

[Vukovic] There is no provision in that law about accelerated proceedings. That was provided for only in the preliminary draft of the law. I do not know why it was omitted. Probably because it is impossible to judge precisely. I would like for it to be incorporated. I, like others, feel that in those cases it is necessary to react more quickly. At least with some sort of temporary measure, as with trespassing and the like.

[Novak-Srzic] Already the prevailing public opinion is that even criminals cannot have as many ideas about how to cheat the state as there are loopholes in our laws.

[Vukovic] At the beginning I said that the legal system needs new legislation too. For example, we are about to pass a trade law. It will put things in one segment of life in Croatia on a completely different footing. If you enact that, then you also enact a law on free zones, and then you have to enact a law on concessions, a law on state property, a law on ports. This is the entire structure that

must be enacted in Croatia, but which has been halted simply because of wartime conditions.

[Novak-Srzic] In certain international circles there is incessant speculation in the form of statements on the threat to human rights in Croatia today. How much truth is there to these rumors?

[Vukovic] As president of the Supreme Court, no one has yet visited me and shown interest in the human rights situation in our country. The head of the press or information services at the Spanish embassy came to me, and I thought that he was going to talk about that. However, he discussed only the conduct of the elections, and specifically how we would conduct the elections in the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] area. I told him that that depends on UNPROFOR activity, which is unproductive in every regard, so that it would probably be unproductive in terms of permitting elections in the field. The first deputy from the U.S. embassy came and asked only about the elections. No one has come to the court for information on human rights violations.

[Novak-Srzic] In the context of human rights, mention is made of problems with certificates of citizenship.

[Vukovic] If they are mentioned in the broader sense of the word, whereby this state would be broad-minded and issue them to a larger number of people than are entitled to them, then that is OK, to warn the state not to issue them so widely. But if it is in the other sense, then I would ask you to name me one state in the world that does not take into account the true citizenship of its citizens. That is a process that is carried out everywhere around the world, and is not specific to Croatia. Every state protects itself. Our people work in Germany for years and cannot obtain citizenship, and it does not occur to anyone to accuse the German state of violating human rights, and that applies especially to France. Mr. Finkielkraut said at the party for the publication of his book that he—a professor at a polytechnical school—has been denied the right to appear on radio because he has argued on behalf of the truth about Croatia. If something like that were to happen in our country, the whole world would sound the alarm about it. He should come here to Zagreb to say that to us. And I must say that I have never read in any of our newspapers that that happened to Alen Finkielkraut. But rarely have I seen so much paper consumed in proving a free press as in our country.

[Novak-Srzic] As a reader, are you satisfied with the free press in our country?

[Vukovic] As a reader I am completely satisfied. But as president of the Supreme Court I have still not had the opportunity to intervene in a single case. I would be very pleased as the person holding this office if a critical approach would increase from day to day in our newspapers, if seriousness in considering certain subjects, in considering certain phenomena, would increase in our newspapers. I have always tended to look through the newspapers to see whether anyone is analyzing a particular phenomenon. I think that the sensational publication of certain reports belongs to the past. Today, we are all creating Croatia as a rule-of-law state together, because only in this way can we give Europe that which it expects of us. I would prefer not to comment on what we are getting from Europe, and it will be seen that things in Croatia are not as bleak as people want to make them out to be, neither from the viewpoint of human rights nor from the viewpoint of freedom of the press and of public speech.

Federal

Cosic Convinced Karadzic Cannot Sign Map

AU1103165393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 mar 93

[Report by Jelena Vidic on Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, receiving delegation of Greek parliamentarians; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Responding to the request by members of the Greek parliamentary delegation, President Cosic spoke about the causes of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. He explained that we were all witnessing the great reshaping of the world after the collapse of communism. The eastern question is stepping onto the scene in the Balkans, President Cosic said.

He reminded the parliamentarians that every time the eastern question reemerged, the influence of the foreign factor was very strong. That is why we have to ask ourselves how we can become the (?masters) of our destiny, and make the Balkans an issue for the Balkan peoples. The sanctions and the blockade of Yugoslavia have stopped the process of the natural integration of the Balkan peoples, Cosic said. Under the influence of foreign factors, the entire southeast of Europe has become removed from European integration processes, and has had introduced into the process, as he said, historical pollution.

He said that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina was a religious and ethnic war, and the worst danger lay in its internationalization, and warned that peace could be achieved in Bosnia only by removing the causes of the war. The most important thing now is that for us to have enough political wisdom to accept the fact that the three peoples in Bosnia cannot and do not want to live together again, Cosic stressed. We will find the solution only in the application of the democratic right of every nation to self-determination. Yugoslavia will do its utmost to bring about the end to the war in Bosnia. We will advise the Serbs to compromise, but we cannot force them to accept dictates and maps that do not observe economic and ethnic principles.

President Cosic expressed his conviction that neither Dr. Karadzic nor any other leader of the Bosnian Serbs would be allowed to return to Bosnia if he signed the map proposal. The people that are armed and that have been left without families and property, Cosic stressed, would never forgive them.

The members of the Greek delegation stressed that they had come to Yugoslavia to express Greek solidarity with the just struggle of the Serbian people. They particularly underlined the importance of the unity of the Orthodox peoples and cultures since, as they said, the Serbs were at the moment fighting a battle for common Orthodox interests.

At the end of the talks, President Cosic expressed his gratitude for the support of the Greek people and stressed that the two peoples were involved in a common struggle for European civilization and, with their sacrifices, were investing in the future of Europe. President Cosic reassured the guests from Greece that the Serbian people would never forget the unselfish help of their Greek brothers.

Cosic: Serbs Will 'Never Succumb' to 'Dictates'

LD1103180893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—We will do our best to ensure that an agreement is reached on peaceful solutions for Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will even advise Serbs in Bosnia to make compromises if necessary but what we cannot do is to force them to accept the dictates of the great powers or the maps as outlined in Geneva or elsewhere, Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, said in Belgrade today.

In his talks with a delegation of Greek parliamentarians, Cosic expressed the belief that "the Serb population in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the people who have lost their families and homes in this war, will never succumb to any dicates."

I can assure you, Cosic told the Greek parliamentarians, that if Radovan Karadzic, Momcilo Krajisnik, or any of the people from the Serb nation's leadership were to endorse the maps, they would not dare go back to Bosnia."

"If the world community continues to persevere with its mistaken policy of imposing solutions, I can see no end to our tragedy," the FRY president stressed.

He added that if the dictates are not accepted, Yugoslavia will be totally isolated and transformed into an even more suffering camp.

According to the Yugoslav president, the three nations in Bosnia- Hercegovina no longer can nor wish to live together. Precisely for this reason, the great powers and the entire European and world community must realize that no models currently proposed by them can be applied in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Yugoslav president noted.

Today we are witnessing a repeat of the Berlin Congress and Yalta, he said. The great powers are issuing the Serb nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina with ultimatums to force them to accept their model of how the three people should live in a state which, he stressed, is an historical aberration.

They go as far as to impose an administrative system of 10 provinces without any respect for ethnic, economic, communication, and other principles. At the same time, they threaten military intervention if their models are not accepted.

In reply to the Greek parliamentarians, Cosic pointed out that the Bosnian issue can be resolved on the basis of democratic principles alone.

The first principle of a democratic solution is the self-determination of nations.

"Until that principle is observed we will have a protracted war and unforeseeable genocidal tragedies, because Bosnia-Hercegovina is the essence of the historical antagonisms in this region—ethnic, religious, civilizational, and state-political antagonisms.

"The world does not want to understand and to our misfortune is not finding the right solutions for the elimination of all these antagonisms."

Cosic spoke about the position of the Balkan states following the demise of socialism in conditions of the heightening of national questions and the advance of Islam. The Balkan countries, he said, were the first to bear the brunt of the advance of Islam.

The Yugoslav president and Greek parliamentarians chose their words carefully when speaking about the friendship of the two nations, which is particularly evident at the moment.

The Greek delegation presented President Cosic with the "History of Ancient Greek Macedonia."

Expressing gratitude for the gift, Cosic said: "We will not commit a single act to the disadvantage of the Greek people. We will be with you," he said, and these words were met with applause from the Greek parliamentarians.

The Yugoslav delegation also comprised Dragoslav Rancic, the FRY president's press adviser, and Milan Komnenic, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee of the Federal Assembly.

Sailors Threaten Another Blockade of Danube

LD1203120293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1127 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav sailors said on Friday [12 March] they might again block the Danube river mid-next week if the Romanian authorities halted a notified ship convoy sailing between Yugoslav ports.

The blockade, originally announced for Wednesday, was delayed in the last moment after the Romanian authorities promised to let the ship Kumanovo and several Yugoslav barges through the Romanian lock at the Dam Djerdap II, said Milovan Petrovic—president of the Yugoslav Sailors' Independent Trade Union.

Romania does not allow Yugoslav ships to use the Yugoslav-Romanian lock, thus hampering traffic on the Yugoslav part of the Danube between Belgrade and the Yugoslav port of Prahovo.

Official Bucharest says the ban is part of an embargo which the U.N. Security Council imposed on Yugoslavia last May because of its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav River Shipping Company claims Yugoslav ships are entitled to use the lock without any restrictions and as part of the Yugoslav territorial waters because, it says, Romania has failed to fulfill its part of the agreement and build another lock in the 1960s when the hydroelectric power plant was constructed.

In protest against Romania's attitude, the Yugoslav Sailors' Independent Trade Union halted traffic near the Djerdap II dam between February 23 and March 2.

Foreign Vessels on Danube Proceeding Unhindered

AU1103184393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Early this morning, all the Yugoslav media carried a TANJUG report that passage along the Danube has again been made impossible, as the representatives of the independent trade unions of the Yugoslav River Shipping Industry had announced. However, these reports are controversial. Slavka Mrvos reports from Radio [word indistinct] in Negotin:

[Mrvos] Although the newspapers, radio, and television carried reports about a renewed blockade of the Danube by the Yugoslav side, we have received completely the opposite reports from Mimoir Dejanovic, the manager of the Trahovo agency, and the chief of the captain's office. Namely, in a telephone conversation at approximately 1200 they both assured us that there was no blockade of the Danube. Ships and vessels under foreign flags are passing through our lock without any problems just as before. Owing to the well-known demand of the representatives of the independent trade unions of the Yugoslav River Shipping Industry, the Romanian authorities did not allow passage to ships under the Yugoslav flag, by which they actually curtailed the right to work to the employees of the Yugoslav River Shipping Industry and Krajina River Shipping. [passage omitted]

Jovanovic Receives Greek Parliamentary Delegation

LD1103211693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Mar (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic today received a Greek parliamentary delegation headed by Aleksandros Damianidis, which is paying a visit to our country.

Minister Jovanovic positively assessed the solidarity displayed by the Greek people toward the Serbian and Montenegrin people in their struggle for the realization of national interests, and also Greek support for the efforts of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the search for a just and peaceful solution to the crisis. He

stressed that the two biggest problems facing Yugoslavia are the uninterrupted Satanization and the unjust economic sanctions, and the threats that they will be tightened and widened instead of their being abolished. They were imposed on the basis of an untrue supposition that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was most to blame for the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It has also been stressed that it is a civil war, something which the most influential international factors also concluded. That civil war can only be checked by a just agreement acceptable for all three sides, through negotiations.

The Greek side positively assessed relations between our two countries, which is also reflected in the Greek stand toward problems facing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Greek side also expressed the readiness of Greece to take an active role in the search for a solution to the crisis.

Army Chief Says Aggression on FRY 'Hardly Possible'

LD1203123193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1156 GMT 12 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—"Aggression on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is hardly possible in the existing conditions," Army of Yugoslavia chief of general staff, Col. Gen. Zivota Panic has stated.

Gen. Panic said in an interview published in the latest issue of the Belgrade magazine DUGA that "only threats" were involved now.

"We view what is being done now as a form of pressure aimed at achieving some goals which they have not accomplished so far as they had planned," Gen. Panic said.

Gen. Panic said the United States would "with great difficulty decide to send its troops to fight in parts of the former Yugoslavia where Serbs live," since he said that "could prove fatal for the administration which sends the troops" because of heavy human losses.

The Yugoslav chief of general staff said he hoped the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not take a turn due to which the Supreme Defense Council of Yugoslavia would, acting in line with its constitutional powers, take a decision on the engagement of the Army of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Gen. Panic said that Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs "do not need help from the Army of Yugoslavia to achieve their goals" in the territories they hold.

Gen. Panic described the U.S. operation of parachuting humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina as a "propaganda move aimed at showing to the American public that the U.S.A. is a great power."

Gen. Panic said the inclusion of Russia in the U.S. humanitarian operation was due to the "Russians" wish to be present in the Balkans alongside of the U.S.A. Gen. Panic said the operation "is not positive for Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs" since he said the aid was mostly directed to Bosnia-Hercegovina Muslims.

Government Proposes New State Symbols

LD1203095993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0939 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government set out a draft proposal on Thursday [11 March] for the design and use of the state symbols—the flag, coat of arms and national anthem.

The government's proposal aims at resolving the question of state symbols in accordance with Serbia's and Montenegro's historical flags and coats of arms, said the statement.

Following the secession of the four former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Republics, it was in April, 1992, that the remaining two republics, Serbia and Montenegro, resolved to continue life together in a joint state—Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The new federal flag consists of three horizontal bands—red, blue and white in this order from top to bottom.

The government's starting point was the fact that Serbia and Montenegro had identical historical and state flags and this solution is considered a satisfactory expression of the continuity of Serbia's and Montenegro's statehood.

The proposed federal coat of arms pictures a two-headed eagle shown against a red shield. The breast of the silver eagle, whose beaks, tongues, legs and claws are golden, is divided into four fields. The first and fourth fields carry Serbia's symbols—a silver cross with four silver firesteels against a red background. the second and third fields display Montengero's symbols—a lion, whose tongue and paws are red, shown in passing against a red above green background.

With regard to these proposals, the federal parliament will have the last word.

Government Says Mazowiecki Acting in 'Racist Way'

LD1103201393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Geneva, March 11 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has said that United Nations Human Rights Committee Special Envoy Tadeusz Mazowiecki has acted in a discriminatory and racist way during his investigation of the respect of human rights in the territory of former Yugoslavia, and expressed hope that he would be replaced.

This assessment was made in a letter by the Yugoslav Government presented, through the its U.N. mission in

Geneva to the chairman of the 49th session of the Human Rights Committee, Muhammad Enasir.

The Yugoslav Governmet recalled that, relaying on unconfirmed sources, Mazowiecki sent a letter to the U.N. Committee on March 4 claiming that in an offensive on Cerska, eastern Bosnia, the Bosnia Serbs had allegedly massacred the Moslem population.

This was denied by U.N. Commander for Bosnia, French General Philippe Morillon, who visited Cerska on March 7 and said he had not seen any massacre or evidence of mass human rights violations.

The Yugoslav Government also accused Mazowiecki of untruthfully informing about the destruction the mosque in Sandzak (region in southwest Serbia). This was denied by an internationl mission which was in Yugoslavia from January 13 through 18.

'In this way Mazowiecki once again confirmed his discriminatory and racist approach,' the letter said and added that he has thus lost credibility to investigate, as a U.N. envoy, the humam rights situation in former Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Government believes that a special envoy should be a highly moral figure who will base his reports on proven facts and present them to the committee in an objective way, something which Mazowiecki failed to do.

The Yugoslav Government expressed hope that the U.N. Human Rights Committee will reconsider Mazowiecki's reports and find the strength to replace him with someone else.

Acute Shortages Experienced Ahead of Spring Sowing

LD1103145993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1409 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav chamber of the Economy Department in charge of sowing on Thursday [11 March] cautioned that ahead of the spring sowing, due to begin in ten-odd days, farmers face a dramatic shortage of diesel fuel and different-type production materials.

Field work, it was said at the department, would be primarily contingent on the delivery of at least 150,000 tonnes of oil.

Oil deliveries are under the strict international embargo imposed by the U.N. Security Council on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) last May because of its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The department announced that, in addition to sowing on a total area of 2.5 million hectares, 700,000 more hectares, remaining untilled from last autumn, also had to be ploughed now.

On Wednesday, the government of the Republic of Serbia announced it would give priority to the supplies of fuel and raw materials for the production of mineral fertilizers required in spring sowing.

A keen shortage of mineral fertilizers, said the department, would be in part alleviated by products manufactured by the Pancevo nitrogenous fertilizer factory which went into operation in February after being closed for three and a half months. This factory is supplying the basic production materials to the manufacturers of the commercial fertilizers in Yugoslavia.

Experts have estimated that crop yields could be 25 per cent lower if fertilizers and plant protection chemicals were applied in insufficient amounts.

The government of the F.R.Y. in February requested the U.N. sanctions-monitoring committee to permit the export to this country of natural gas for the production of fertilizers for agricultural purposes. The request was explained by the basic principle of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), saying that food may not be used as the means of political pressure.

The outcome of spring sowing would be decisive for the survival of the population of the F.R.Y.

Czech Police, Media Reportedly Misusing Term 'Yugoslavs'

LD1203120693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1141 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Prague March 12 (TANJUG)—The Czech police and press are bombarding their public daily with stories of various crimes in which the real or alleged participants are "Yugoslavs", while at the same time avoiding to mention that the matter refers to citizens of Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia or Bosnia-Hercegovina.

When the police arrest ethnic Albanian small-time con men from Slovenia, or when Moslems from a refugee camp get into a pub brawl with locals in a some hamlet in the north of the Czech Republic, then the official statement calls them all "citizens of the former Yugoslavia."

Putting it mildly, the Czech police stand is rather unusual considering that the former Yugoslav Republics seceded forcefully, with the exception of Macedonia, which included the former Czechoslovakia among those countries that granted it international recognition.

The Czech press goes a step further, and insists on calling all these transgressors "Yugoslavs," regardless of the fact that they are citizens of Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia or Bosnia-Hercegovina, and not of Yugoslavia which is made up of Serbia and Montenegro.

The Czech press deceits are easily explained. When it is borne in mind that the Czech media are innundating their public with war mongering reports against Serbia and Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina proclaiming them the

main culprits of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, it is not difficult to guess who the man in the street will identify with the expression "citizens of Yugoslavia."

North Korean Premier Sends Kontic Message

LD1203122093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1148 GMT 12 Mar 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, March 12 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on Friday [12 March] received in a courtesy visit North Korean Ambassador in Belgrade Yu Se-ung conveyed him a message by Korean Prime Minister Kang Song San [name as received].

The two officials exchanged views on the international situation and bilateral relations, Kontic's office announced.

Serbia

Milosevic Issues Statement on Paris Talks

AU1103221493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to Belgrade television after talks with French President Francois Mitterrand, Cyrus Vance, and Lord David Owen in Paris on 11 March—recorded]

[Excerpt] We held very long and open talks with President Mitterrand and Mr. Owen and Mr. Vance, cochairmen of the conference. We discussed all the main issues concerning the Yugoslav crisis. Naturally, from the position of the cochairmen, the most difficult issue at this very moment is to bring the realization—that is, the acceptance of the Vance-Owen plan—in Bosnia-Hercegovina to an end. Concerning our side, the attitude toward the sanctions is the most important issue, as well as the acknowledgement of the reasons that are, in our opinion, more than valid, namely that the sanctions must definitely be lifted as soon as possible—that is, it must be made possible to continue resolving the Yugoslav crisis through political means and on an equal footing.

Regarding the Vance-Owen plan, it is well known that we endorsed all the principles of this plan in Geneva and on this occasion. We believe that the Vance-Owen plan is a good way to resolve and redirect all problems into peaceful waters. However, regarding the maps, we cannot be involved in these matters because the issue of the maps is an internal issue of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I believe that the principal issue is the factual issue, I would say, of the situation on the ground. Therefore, if the principles envisage a consensus of the three constituent nations on all essential matters, then this principle should definitely be applied to the issue of the maps as well. I hope that the cochairmen will continue to make efforts that the representatives of the three ethnic communities agree on this remaining key issue by acknowledging the interests of each of them. I hope that the cochairmen will be helpful in this.

I would like to say that I am very encouraged by the constructive approach of French President Mitterrand, and I hope that this step, as well as other steps that will hopefully ensue, will help to achieve a more objective approach toward the Yugoslav crisis, instead of the present highly distorted and unfavorable attitude toward Yugoslavia, our entire country, and our nation. In this respect, I can say that I am an optimist.

Serbia's 'Unequal' Position in New Federation Viewed

93BA0681B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 pp 30-31

[Interview with Miodrag Jovicic, professor at the School of Law in Belgrade and corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Science and Art, by Roksanda Nincic; date and place not given: "Serbia Is Unequal"]

[Text] *The opinions of constitutional jurists on the scope of the "Zabljak Constitution" differ significantly. Slobodan Vucetic, a judge on the Constitutional Court of Serbia, explained in the last issue of VREME that Montenegro is in an unequal position. However, a professor at the School of Law in Belgrade and corresponding member of SANU [Serbian Academy of Science and Art], Miodrag Jovicic, feels that Serbia is unequal.*

When asked "To what extent is the Serbian Constitution in harmony with the federal Constitution?" Prof. Jovicic responds: "The federal Constitution was enacted at the end of April 1992. Under the explicit provision of Article 115 of that Constitution, the republican constitutions must be in harmony with the federal Constitution, which means that the Serbian Constitution, enacted in September 1990, must also be harmonized with the Yugoslav Constitution. That has not been done, however, so that for nearly 10 months now there have been provisions in the Serbian Constitution that are not in harmony with the federal Constitution.

"The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia was drawn up at a time when the process of SFRY disintegration was already largely under way, and when the impending end of that unhappy creation could be predicted with a great deal of certainty. No one was obeying the SFRY Constitution any longer, and that gave those in power in Serbia the idea of drawing up a constitution through which the Republic of Serbia was declared a sovereign and independent state, with full international subjectivity, a system of defense, an all-encompassing system of state authority.... The consequence of this conception of a republican constitution, which was not based on the fact that Serbia is a member of a federation and that its constitutional structure must fit in with the federal structure, is that today there si still a mutual lack of harmony between the two Constitutions. This is reflected not only in the verbal establishment of the

sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Serbia, which is incompatible with the federal ideal, but also in a series of republican functions that it would not be able to perform. Let us start with the area of national defense and foreign policy: In these areas, the president of the republic has as much authority as he would if he were the head of a real state, and there are ministers in the government for these two departments. The distribution of responsibilities between the two levels of power is not harmonized, so that some functions are equally subject to both federal and republican jurisdiction, for example in the areas of the financial system, planning, obligations....

"In recent months, there have been many disagreements, many clashes between federal and republican institutions, which are the inevitable consequence of the lack of harmony between the republican and federal Constitutions. All of this does not contribute to a regime of constitutionality and legality."

[Nincic] Why does Serbia not harmonize its Constitution with the federal one?

[Jovicic] In normal countries, the matter would be easy to fix: The republican Constitution would have to be harmonized with the standards of the federal Constitution, without any hesitation. In our country, the matter is twice as complicated.

First, the federal Constitution was obviously enacted in a way that is defective in terms of constitutional law, both with regard to the bodies that adopted it and with regard to procedure for adopting it. As a result, the question arises of whether it is possible to demand that a republican constitution (even though it too was enacted under irregular circumstances) must be in accordance with this type of federal constitution.

Second, the entire concept of the new federation, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], is based on faulty foundations, because it attempts to organize a federal state with only two federal units of very different sizes and strengths. In that federation, the Republic of Serbia accounts for 95 percent of the population and approximately the same percentage of economic strength. A federation is by definition a community of equals, but on the level of formal law such equality can be achieved in our situation only at the expense of Serbia and its citizens. Because of that, I would say that these considerations of a nonlegal, predominantly sociological nature also have an effect on relations in the federation and that until the concept of the state structure is changed, it will provoke opposition in Serbia on the constitutional level as well, with the aforementioned consequence—violations of federal constitutionality.

[Nincic] What about opposition in Montenegro? Do you consider fears of inequality in that republic unjustified?

[Jovicic] There is no reason whatsoever for that fear, because the Constitution offers a number of guarantees of status and various rights for Montenegro in the FRY. There is a double guarantee here: No decision that relates to the position of Montenegro in the federation can be enacted without the agreement of the Chamber of Republics, where a majority of members decides issues, not a majority of those casting votes; moreover, the agreement of the Montenegrin Assembly would be necessary for any changes that would affect the position of Montenegro in the federation. There is another possibility: When deciding on individual issues, they can request a decision by a two-thirds majority in the Chamber of Citizens.

[Nincic] Do you think that it is even possible for such a federation to function?

[Jovicic] Such a federation cannot be effective. Problems will be expressed in the functioning of state institutions—most of all the Assembly and the government. Specifically, the weaknesses in the organization of the new federation are reflected in the composition of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly and in the stipulation that the president of the FRY and the prime minister cannot be from the same republic. Also, the way of changing the most important provisions of the Constitution is purely confederal in nature, because the agreement of both republican assemblies is required.

I would add that the de facto inequality of Serbia is also reflected in the fact that Serbia provides 19 times more military conscripts than Montenegro, and that the federal budget is sustained by Serbia to an incomparably greater degree.

[Nincic] With regard to the way in which the democratic opposition was thrown out of the Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly, can it be said that the decisions enacted by that house are legal?

[Jovicic] The legality of the election process for constituting the chambers of the Federal Assembly is obviously suspect with regard to both chambers. As far as the elections to the Chamber of Citizens are concerned, numerous well-founded facts concerning violations of electoral legislation—which is also full of weaknesses—have been made public, both in the specialized public and in the general public, in terms of the proportional system applied and of the carving up of electoral districts (with typical gerrymandering—the misuse of so-called electoral geometry).

For the elections to the Chamber of Republics, the following happened in the Serbian Assembly. Instead of proceeding in accordance with the republican election law, which stipulates that the People's Assembly elect 20 deputies to the Chamber of Republics in proportion to the strength of the individual political parties represented in the republican Assembly, that Assembly enacted, albeit "for one-time use" (in the words of one deputy), a law with retroactive effect, and in this way sent to the Chamber of Republics deputies solely from the two biggest, allied parties. And second—and perhaps even more tragically for the regime of constitutionality—the decision on this election of members of the Chamber

of Republics under the new law was taken before that law was signed, promulgated, and, finally, published, which is the condition for its entering into force.

Thus, because of the way in which the half of the Chamber of Republics that comes from the Serbian Assembly was elected, the very legitimacy of that Chamber must be questioned. While it is still also possible to discuss the legitimacy of the Chamber of Citizens on the whole, because the violation of the law was not of the same intensity in the case of elections to that Chamber and perhaps did not have a decisive effect on the composition of the Chamber, here things are crystal clear: Serbian representatives to the Chamber of Republics were elected through a gross violation of precise constitutional and legal standards. Bearing in mind the importance of that Chamber as an equal house of the Federal Assembly, each vote in that small body that goes to the wrong side could have a major effect on the adoption of decisions.

[Nincic] What constitutional solution could ensure the normal functioning of the federation, because all indications are that the existing one is incapable of this?

[Jovicic] There are four possibilities for rational solutions in eliminating the evident weaknesses of the existing federation. First, the creation of a modern federation while eliminating existing confederal elements—without forgetting the previously emphasized restriction on the effectiveness of a federation with two federal units. Second, it would be possible to organize a regional state with a certain number of regions that would enjoy broad autonomy, would lack all elements of statehood, and would have the right to form a special house in the central parliament (chamber of regions). The third possibility is the formation of a customs and economic union with the most necessary coordinating bodies in those areas. And finally, there is the worst solution—the complete disintegration of the existing common state.

Belgrade TV Said To Conceal News

93BA0671B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 p 27

[Article by Z.I.B.: "When the News Is Not the News"]

[Text] On Saturday, 20 February, the Main Railroad Station in Belgrade, because of dramatic events, was blocked from early in the morning until late at night. A uniformed returnee from the battlefield set off a bomb and killed one policeman and seriously wounded another. Not even basic information about this was given, however, in the daily news from editor N. Dragic Radosavljevic. Simply nothing!

Why was news that should have been at the top of the daily news concealed? Was it because it reveals that "armed communication" is spreading more and more drastically to the streets of Belgrade as well, or was it because part of the report, in a way, also had to be the fact that the culprit in the event was a volunteer from the Serbian Radical Party, whose headquarters on Ohrid Street tried to bring the bomber to his senses? Which version of this event will be explained in the central daily news, and when?

One more report that indicates the war methods that are migrating to this area was also covered up. Specifically, on Thursday evening, in the Priboj village of Kukurovici, five Muslim houses were set on fire, and people also died in the shooting. Instead of those reports, which testify to the danger of life here and now, Belgrade TV once again went back to the case of the removal of flags in one Serbian village in Macedonia. Why is what is happening in Skopje's Montenegro more interesting, when the reporter himself, D. Petrovic, said that there was nothing new there, than what is happening in this state, where such things are happening, as other media demonstrate. Why is Belgrade TV more concerned about an incident from two months ago, in which no one suffered seriously, but is not concerned about houses being set on fire in the middle of Serbia? Is the nationalistic blindness of Serbian TV editors so great that the motive for the editorial actions is the fact that in Macedonia Serbs are involved, but in Serbia the Muslims are? Or is news only news if it is politically usable from today until tomorrow? In this context, how can one "read" the message from the reporter in Skopje Montenegro, who ended his story by noting that the Serbian people in that area had "a true desire for justice, dignity, and peace." Which peoples, in contrast to this one, have a desire for injustice, humiliation, and war?

Many questions also remained unanswered even after the segment by V. Jugovic and R. Smiljanic about DER SPIEGEL's coverage of intellectuals in Serbia. First of all, the viewers did not have an opportunity to hear what was really written in that article. In the second place, who says that Jugovic and Smiljanic have a right to speak for all intellectuals in Serbia? The basic assumption that everyone thinks the same way is untrue. Consequently, if anything in particular had to be said about the German newspaper's coverage, then it would have been professional to do the following: convey the main parts of the article, ask for a reaction from R. Smiljanic, M. Djilas (who was mentioned as a representative of that other intelligentsia), and possibly someone else among those who were named.

Both on Friday (editor A. Ljubicic) and on Saturday, it was apparent that Belgrade TV would not give its audience any serious information about the humanitarian aid convoys that were stopped. Even the part about the efforts by UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] to have the convoys get from Rogatica to Gorazde was completely cleaned out of Nambiar's statement.

The news of the day, that the Security Council had adopted a decision on extending UNPROFOR's mandate, was only put in the 16th minute of the broadcast.

One news item that was not broadcast on Friday clearly reveals the editorial criteria of Serbian TV's editors. On previous days, reports about a visit by Russian journalists to Serbia were broadcast extensively and at the top of the daily news. On Friday, their news conference was covered up. Why did the Russian journalists suddenly become unsuitable? Probably because they did not speak according to the taste of editor A. Ljubicic and his people. It was probably the surprising claim that the former communist leaders who had spread the idea of nationalism were in power in Yugoslavia. "Barbarism is felt here, and it is presented in medieval views." In response to a criticism from disappointed journalists here that their Russian colleagues were speaking like this, without even mentioning Orthodoxy, the guests from Russia gave an unexpected answer: "One should not overestimate the role of Orthodoxy!"

The (neo)Orthodox TV people here obviously did not like that.

Opposition's Lack of Organization, Leaders Assessed

93BA0669B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20-21 Feb 93 p V

[Article by Nikola Burzan: "The Inimitable Phenomenon of Solidarity"]

[Text] Has the Serbian (democratic) opposition lost its compass? The question might be rhetorical, but in the light of the opposition's recent behavior it is not really beside the point nor only for an academic discussion. On the contrary. There are all the arguments you could want.

Judging by the external manifestations at least, the behavior of the opposition has deserved the same caustic remark made to the Croats in the time of Austro-Hungary: They do not know what they want, but they want it immediately. An exaggeration? Perhaps, but....

Let us recall only how the opposition behaved on the eve of the December election, as well as before that. It was demanding Slobodan Milosevic's resignation and gathered hundreds of thousands of signatures for that purpose, it was demanding a constitutional assembly, proportional democratic elections, removal of the management of the TV Bastille. Otherwise, there would be no election. None of those demands was met, but the opposition nevertheless did take part in the election.

How it fared in the election—regardless of all the manipulations of the incumbent party and the possible (so far still unproven) theft—is well-known. And it is also well-known that one party was resolutely in favor of taking part in the election, another was vigorously against it, a third was wavering, and a fourth gave in to the election at the last moment when its president spoke out.

The attempt at unification was a failure. DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], representing the nucleus of a possible unity (or at least of democratic cooperation) was not joined even by its natural and most natural allies—the Democratic Party [DS] and the Citizen Alliance [GS]. The attempt to create a somewhat looser coalition also failed: DEKO [Democratic Coalition] lived only slightly longer than a dragonfly.

Disunited, disorganized, even at odds, without the expected support of Dobrica Cosic and seduced by the meteoric flash of Milan Panic, to whose advantage even Vuk Draskovic renounced presidential candidacy, forgetting that a meteor soon burns up and is extinguished as soon as it enters the density of the atmosphere, the opposition has once again been cheated and slapped in the face, but mostly through its own fault. And when a new Serbian parliament imposes on it a law preventing it from entering the Citizens Chamber of the Federal Assembly—it even leaves the parliament!

The only "oppositionists" (with a compass!) whose "mind is still working" in these confusing times is Vojislav Seselj. The ambitious "duke" has splendidly interpreted and still better applied in practice the old truth that if you cannot beat your enemy, then join him! Desirous of power, he has not, to be sure, arrived at it directly, but he has become its right hand, the fist that deals the blow, and indeed even its controller and corrector, with important opportunities to guide it, and perhaps even something more—if the need and occasion should arise.

But let us leave Seselj in his extremely comfortable position of a powerful man of authority without formal power. Let us see what that real opposition—democratic—is doing now. The idea has been launched of a civil resistance movement! What, how? Vuk Draskovic says:

"We must use all the democratic methods of waging a struggle, parliamentary methods above all. Because that is not allowed us, and we do not want to sit in fascist caves, what is left is to work outside parliament. The first demonstrations will not be peaceful.... The very idea of civil resistance is something which misfortune is pressing upon us—it formulates itself.... If you ask me about specific methods—I will tell you that even we have finally learned something. That is not something one talks about for the newspapers."

The conclusion might be drawn, then, that something "serious is cooking" in the (democratic) opposition. But one party leader immediately criticized that "demonstrations are being announced in advance" and he recommended "all pressures on the government from outside parliament except those which are violent." But another warns that the opposition "possesses extremely limited organizational capabilities" and that by leaving parliament it has found itself "in the sphere of private activity." Yet another believes that strikes should be aimed "at the real problem—the indispensable need to

change the regime and the system," rather than over there toward some miserably small wages and salaries. And so on.

If Vuk Draskovic's assertion is true that the opposition "has finally learned something," the question is from whom? Better and more tried-and-true teachers than Lech Walesa, Adam Mihnjik, Jacek Kuronj, Zbigniew Bujak, and the other leaders of the (once) famous, now only legendary, Polish Solidarity certainly cannot be found. But from those past masters of civil resistance there really is not all that much that can be learned.

Above all, the main lesson is that nothing can be achieved overnight. Solidarity was born on the wave of a worker rebellion in August 1980, and it realized its objectives—taking power and overthrowing communism—only 10 years later! In the meantime, a detailed organizational network was woven, a network that acted as one even in what was a state of war, operating deep underground. There was no factory, firm, university, village, school, mine, neighborhood, city, or region where the organizational structures of Solidarity did not exist and were not operating very actively.

What is more, the Polish opposition in the form of Solidarity was unified and extremely large in numbers—more than 11 million people! The powerful Catholic Church stood behind it with all its immense authority. What is more, it did not immediately present its maximalist—and thereby also unrealistic—demands to the authorities, but radicalized them gradually, step by step. Its leaders never hesitated to go to prison or house arrest; on the contrary, this did them honor and enhanced their prestige with the people. What manner of chicanery, mistreatment, humiliation, did Lech Walesa experience and survive, indeed even after he became the winner of the Nobel Prize!?

And, finally, of no less importance—on the contrary: Solidarity had a real leader, a charismatic leader. And, the most essential thing, Poland is practically a monoethnic country, a nation with an anticommunist and anti-Soviet disposition, and Solidarity knew from the very outset what it wanted and by what means and methods that could be achieved. The results are known to everyone.

What of all that does the Serbian (democratic) opposition have today? Unity—a pig in a poke. Organization—the parties do not even have it individually, much less the entire opposition. Numbers—pitiful. Support of the church—doubtful, vacillating. Leader—not even on the horizon. The goal, it is well-known, is power, which is normal for any opposition. But the means and methods of waging the struggle are a land of perpetual darkness.

Paraphrasing one of our opposition leaders, the question of all questions for the Serbian (democratic) opposition is not whether it wants to, but whether it can? Can it, for instance, organize a general strike tomorrow, which Solidarity initiated without much trouble at a mere wink from Walesa? How many people in Serbia today would take part in it? What are they willing to do? What would come after that? Who would lead them? Where?

The phenomenon of Solidarity, by all appearances, is unique. The idea of the Serbian (democratic) opposition of a civil resistance movement is not to be rejected. Provided that a solid organization is first created, long-term goals are defined along with means of achieving them, real demands are put forth (all of them so far have been maximalist and unrealistic), and also provided that new leaders are launched, and still better—a real leader.

The next election would be the earliest realistic period for achieving that. There is a great deal of work to be done before that. A great deal of time has already been lost in empty discussions, sterile rallies, and parlor-room revolutionism. It is time for the Serbian (democratic) opposition to "finally learn something." And to stay out of the kitchen if it cannot stand the heat....

Factory Plans for New Airfield, Aircraft

93BA0668A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 93 p 8

[Article by Borislav Solesa: "Hope for a New Ascent of a Yugo-Airplane"]

[Text] Utva of Pancevo announced the other day reconstruction of its present airport, which will produce yet another modern airport by turning the present runway 20 degrees and by laying the concrete of a runway 2,500 meters long. If that job is to be done as soon as possible, we have to assume that the blockade will be removed from Yugoslavia and that Utva will manage to sell at least one of its G-4 airplanes, whose price on the world market is somewhere around $5.5 million—which incidentally is enough money to complete the airfield referred to.

Americans (from the United States) will probably recall only then that an article has already been published in their press (CHICAGO TRIBUNE) entitled "Yugos That Even You Would Like," which was illustrated with a large photograph of the well-known B-52, with the Yugo-airplanes Jastreb and the G-4 already mentioned, referred to as the Super Galeb or Super Sea Gull, as they translated it on the other side of the pond.

The high esteem which the Yankees have for this airplane, the Super Galeb, is best indicated by the fact that this plane was supposed to be included in the training of U.S. pilots, which is well-known under the name "G-pats" as one of the best in the world. Sometime just before the war a businessman from Arkansas and the actor John Travolta wanted to do business with the people from Pancevo. Their intention was to obtain some excellent small planes (which the businessman to some extent achieved by purchasing two kites, that is, the "chassis" of the good old Galeb for little money, a few hundred thousand dollars).

In the Group of World Manufacturers

Jovo Opsenica, M.A., Utva director, and Dragan Nikodinovic, technical director, spoke with pride and anxiety about the Boeing license, which Utva also has and which is held by a very small group of the largest world manufacturers. There are not many people who do not know about Boeing, Douglas, Aerospecial, Aliastar, but Utva has waited in line a long time to buy a ticket to that high society with which it collaborated before the war. That "buying of a ticket" began back in 1933, when a group that called itself Deveti [Ninth] in Pancevo engaged in the promotion of glider flying, and then on 5 June 1937 took the name Utva (it took the name from the duck Tadorni feruginei, in Serbo-Croatian—Utva zlatokrila, in English—gold-winged duck).

Just before World War II, gliders like the Komar, Cavka, Varbac, Jastreb, Zdral, Orlik, Seva, Vaja, and Lasta were mainly manufactured in the factory. After the war, they began making planes like the Trojka, 212, 213, Acro 3. Then came the airplanes Utva 56, Utva 60, Utva 65P, Utva 66, Utva 75, Utva 75A, Utva 75AG, Orao (warplane), Galeb, Super Galeb (G-4), and Lasta (training and combat plane). About 130 airfoils have been designed in this firm, and most have gone into series production or are now being manufactured.

Utva's present production program includes the airplanes Galeb 4, Lasta, and Utva 75, drones, and repair of the Galeb 4 plane. The joint-stock company Utva Aircraft Industry has the most up-to-date machines, from conventional to the highest quality three-spindle and five-spindle milling machines with numeric control.

An automated and integrated information system supports and monitors Utva's entire business operation. The "brain" of the information system is the UTVIS Software on the Sperry 1100/91 SV computer, with more than 160 terminals distributed among work centers so that the user-operatives input information where it occurs and use it where it is needed. The system is constantly being added to, and in addition to the supercomputer mentioned, Utva also has a CAD/CAM computer (Computervision CDS-4101) and eight IBM PC-compatible computers and a PDP-11/23 computer, which operates the three-dimensional measuring machine.

The drone we mentioned, which is made from composite materials which present radars cannot detect, is intended for the Air Force [RV] of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ], specifically for reconnaissance missions. Put simply, that aircraft is like a replacement for the kamikaze pilots, because under certain conditions it can perform even the most dangerous missions. Thanks to its small size, with a wing span of about 4 meters, it is a valuable pocket version of an excellent plane.

The new version of the G-4 plane, the G-4 M, which is still on the drawing board and in the heads of the designers, will be a quality jet that will be able to carry fairly powerful missiles and bombs like the Durandal, Maverick, Beluga, and AA-2. The work force of Utva will thereby discharge some of its obligations to the VJ, which is its present main sponsor.

A Defensive Ring Around the City

With the help of the army, equipment which the army earlier acquired for its own needs was withdrawn from Soko in Mostar, which made it possible to master the tedious job of overhauling the Super Galeb (the first overhauled G-4 is to leave the shop in four months). What is more, the technical documentation and other equipment, spare parts, composite materials, and tools from Soko are affording Utva various combinations, even in a time of crisis.

Business worth a total of $16 million under two contracts with Russia is frozen, but in its plants Utva is nevertheless still making tools to manufacture certain parts of the Tupolev 204! Contracts with the United States and Britain have also been canceled.

Of the work force of 1,500, no fewer than 400 are in a mandatory waiting status, although Opsenica is convinced that no one will be discharged. Various stories of those who have left that firm are also being spun about Utva. That there has been a great deal of privatization, that some people are getting rich because of the poor distribution of the shares.... Those stories remain only gossip unless other evidence is provided, and in the meantime Utva's people are going ahead with the opening of a third airport in the vicinity of Belgrade. That will create a mighty aeronautical junction that would be linked up into a strong defense of the city with the airfields at Batajnica and Surcin. But that aeronautical center, relying on the free trade zone, the port, and agriculture (the Tamis and Beograd Agroindustrial Combines) would impart a new quality to the economy of the capital and that of Banat, the authors of this plan believe.

In that entire business scramble in Utva, they have not been without their spirit of research. They have become the sponsors of a small group of enthusiasts who are preparing to launch a real hit—the small plane Vila, with a 65-HP engine and a speed of 150 km/hr, that would cost about as much as a medium-class automobile.

Kosovo

Arkan Reportedly Sets Up Office in Pristina

PM1103162093 London THE EUROPEAN in English 11-14 Mar 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Roman Rollnick: "Omen of War Checks Into Grand Hotel"]

[Text] Pristina, Kosovo—They are the omens of war—the swaggering, shaven-headed men in black shirts and black berets. Carrying guns and two-way radios, they glare menacingly at the guests in the lobby of the Grand Hotel in Pristina. No one even dares to object when one of them walks directly between two people discussing the

future in nervous whispers. For these battle-hardened men, many of them former prisoners released under an amnesty, are the Tigers, members of the 800-strong private militia of Zeljko Raznjatovic.

Known as Tsar Arkan to his followers, Raznjatovic, 40, is the most feared Serbian warlord. More than anyone else in the former Yugoslavia, Arkan and his Tigers have come to symbolise the most brutal edge of ethnic cleansing and racial tension of the kind seen in Vukovar and Bijelina. They conduct "softening operations" ahead of regular army forces, or "cleaning up" after a battle.

Arkan was in Croatia just as the war started and he was in Bosnia when the fighting there began in earnest. Now, as everyone here waits tensely for war, it is in Pristina, the capital of Kosovo, that he has set up offices on the top two floors of the Grand Hotel.

Known to his enemies as the "baby-faced killer", he has been here since January as the newly elected Serbian MP for Pristina. He is wanted by Interpol for extortion and murder, and is on the UN's list of most-wanted war criminals.

Behind the hotel's front desk is a life-size portrait of Arkan in a 1916 Serbian army uniform. He proclaims a hatred for Muslims and Germans, and he has a notice outside his office saying: "Croats, dogs and Albanians not welcome." If the fighting in Kosovo, with its predominantly Albanians-Muslim population, has not started in earnest, a reign of Serbian terror and intimidation is well under way.

This was evident from the moment I entered Kosovo through the Macedonian border. Sitting in a Lada taxi, we waited for three hours while Serbian police held our passports. As we sat there, several Albanians families returned with the remains of relatives killed in an air crash at nearby Skopje airport a few days earlier. In every case the men in black uniforms insisted that the families unload the coffins—on the pretext of looking for guns—and open them, despite a driving snowstorm.

As we eventually drove off, The European's photographer, Justin Leighton, was warned by our guide that he could be arrested or even shot if he dared to photograph the Tigers or to carry his cameras openly. It was a grim start to a visit, in a disarmingly beautiful mountain countryside that lies on the faultlines of Europe's Islamic and Slavic-Christian divide.

Kosovo is now tensely divided between 200,000 Serbs, backed by a growing military occupation force, and two million poverty-stricken Albanians. Pristina itself lives under a strict martial law regime. Everywhere there are roadblocks and ordinary people are so scared of the Tigers that they give the hotel a wide berth.

In recent weeks every Serbian family has been given weapons handed out openly from army lorries in the main marketplace on prearranged distribution days.

For two years the Albanians, their press banned, have gradually been removed from their jobs as teachers, bus drivers, doctors and civil servants. Their children have been barred from state-run schools.

"The tension has now reached boiling point," said Adem Demaci, president of the Kosovo Human Rights Council. A writer and dissident, he spent 28 years in jail, and was recently awarded the European Parliament's Andrei Sakharov prize. He worries that when war does break out it will spread through the Balkans and split Nato, with Turkey supporting the Albanians and Greece the Serbs.

"The danger is that the Serbs are agonising because their regime in Belgrade is near the end," he said. "When a terrible beast is close to dying, it is at its most dangerous."

Since Arkan's arrival the council has received more than 1,000 reports of Albanians beaten or tortured by the police and paramilitaries. At a clandestine Albanian clinic, the doctors showed us an X-ray showing a nail clipper in the abdomen of a man forced to swallow it after a severe beating.

The doctor said: "They do this knowing that we do not have surgical facilities at these clinics, and knowing no Albanians will be allowed into a general hospital."

There were photographs of two high-school girls whose ears had been torn off. In a talk with teenagers at an Albanian school in a private house, where classes are held in three shifts and pupils sit on the floor, the girls spoke of constant harassment by the authorities.

"When we come or go from school we get picked up, kidnapped by the paramilitary who force our parents to pay fines of $5 for our release," one said. There were few boys in this high-school class; in recent weeks they have become too scared to venture outdoors. A teacher said scores had been picked up at bus stops and taken away in police vehicles. "We don't hear of them after that. We assume they are forced into military service in dangerous battle zones, but we don't know."

As thousands of Albanians start to flee Kosovo on roads made dangerous by roving gunmen, economic strangulation and intimidation are serving the purposes of ethnic cleansing.

Serbs Demand Albanian Employees Sign 'Loyalty Oath'

AU1103154193 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.48 in English 10 Mar 93

[Unidentified report: "New Method of Firing Albanians"—issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] The Serbian enterprise "Srbija-Suma", which has forcefully integrated all the wood processing industry branches of Kosovo, numbering approximately around 10,000 employees, has begun a new process of firing

Albanian employees. It has been applying the method of asking the employees to sign a loyalty oath to the Republic of Serbia. From Albanian employees it is also demanded that they join the Serbian official trade unions. This was revealed at a press conference held today in Pristina, by Dr. Hajrullah Gorani, president of the Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo.

Serbs Clamp Down on Weapons in Villages

AU1103154293 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr.47 in English 9 Mar 93

[Unattributed report: "The Peja Villages Targeted by Serbian Police"—issued by Democratic League of Kosovo]

[Text] The Serbian clampdown on weapons in the municipality of Peja goes on unabated for two months now. Many Albanians were issued summons to hand over guns they allegedly possess. Mr. Sylejman Pajaziti was ordered to appear at the police station at Ozdrim (Peja) for the fourth time. He was earlier severely beaten up, because he could produce a weapon at the request of the Serbian police. Likewise, Shaqir Haxhia from the Craboc village was summoned for the fourth time.

The Serbian clampdown on weapons has been intensified in the municipalities of Peja, Istog, Decan, Gjakova and Prizren, and areas bordering with Montenegro and Albania, aimed at making people flee Kosovo in a Serbian plan to ethnically cleanse the area.

Vojvodina

Authority of Serbian Radicals in Novi Sad

93BA0681C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 pp 27-28

[Article by Dimitrije Boarov: "Authority of Serbian Radicals: Novi Sad Folk Song"]

[Text] *Ever since the Serbian socialists awarded Novi Sad to the Serbian radicals following the special elections—to practice "exercising authority"—an "ideological battle" against the remnants of common sense has begun again in this city, which has been wrung dry and "discriminated against" a hundred times.*

Through its first personnel decisions and general slogans, the first official coalition between Seselj's radicals and Milosevic's socialists, on the city assembly in Novi Sad, has already roused this despondent town from its tired drowsiness. The promotion of the main radical slogan about the "spiritual renewal of the Serbian Athens" has been received with laughter among the public, but the first moves to "implement" this grand slogan have meant that those who are not yet "experienced pessimists" are "fed up" with this laughter.

City and Suburb

Even the election of Mr. Milorad Mircic, 34, a handsome technician from "Jugodent," as mayor of Novi Sad has shown that the radicals here have gained a ceremonial function, while the socialists will try to maintain the real levers of power with the help of Mr. Obrad Milosevic from "NIS" in the post of president of the municipal government. These two men have already chosen their first associates. As his vice president, Mircic selected his party comrade Igor Mirovic, who made a name for himself in Novi Sad with his campaign against singer Djoka Balasevic, whose attitudes allegedly "have no place in this city" (because it is hard to imagine the man in question without attitudes, Novi Sad will quickly lose either Balasevic or Mirovic). Another important person in Mircic's circle is adviser Malkom Muharem, who distinguished himself in Sarajevo under this pseudonym as the promotor of the "Blue Orchestra," but more recently as the promotor of Karadzic's policy. The real name of the close associate of Sonja Karadzic is Goran Maric.

Mr. Obrad Milosevic has also chosen people for his closest associates who "are esteemed not only in their work environment." What is interesting for this socialist is that these are so-called nonparty figures. The vice president for economics is Jovo Barosevic, who long ago made a name for himself, as the head of a cafeteria enterprise, in an affair concerning some lamb heads; he later worked for a labor union. A second vice president, in charge of the spiritual domain, will be Momcilo Selic, an architect, known as a writer from Belgrade whose book *Izgon [Expulsion]* won the "Milos Crnjanski" prize last year while the author was experiencing enthusiasm and disappointment on the battlefields of Bosnia as a Serbian volunteer and columnist for DUGA. The Novi Sad socialists got the independent Selic from Seselj.

Mayor Mircic, in his first formal interview with adviser Muharem, which was published unsigned by the local DNEVNIK, put forward the slogan about "spiritual renewal" while carelessly adopting "equidistance" toward Milosevic and Tudjman. Specifically, he says that Novi Sad must restore the "spiritual thread" and emphasizes the task of "simply breaking with the practice according to which our city is a spiritual suburb of Belgrade or, to the south, of Osijek." (This statement is interesting, although no one can recall when Novi Sad was in any way linked to Osijek.)

Attack and Defense

The youthful Mircic, who has been praised here for the fact that, unlike Clinton, he has never cheated on his wife during seven years of marriage, was much clearer when he linked spiritual renewal to the need for radicals to take control over all public enterprises, including, of course, Serbian Matica [a cultural association]. "Some important, traditional institutions of our city have simply faded away, and appear not to have found their

place in the new wave of awakening the national consciousness of Serb-Novi Sad residents. Above all I am thinking here of Serbian Matica, which must again become the spiritual Piedmont of unification," Mr. Mircic said, precisely two days before the traditional 167th ceremonial annual meeting of that institution.

Academician Bosko Petrovic, the president of Serbian Matica, did not respond directly to the radicals' attack at that ceremonial gathering (on 16 February), unless one is to take as a response the fact that, contrary to custom, he spoke in somewhat greater detail about the work of Serbian Matica, which he described as representing "a higher level of Serbian spiritual life." Also resembling a reply is the fact that he added that the Matica should be kept and strengthened on this higher level, "because only in this way, if we do so, can we preserve our national physiognomy and completely define it." If Mayor Mircic came to this meeting (which has been customary ever since Miletic), perhaps he sat right next to academician Dobrica Cosic, a member of the Executive Committee of Serbian Matica and the president of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], whom the radicals want to challenge in the Federal Assembly. But perhaps he could ask for a clarification of this somewhat puzzling sentence by academician Petrovic. Because what kind of national work is this where the radicals are not in the lead?!

Cancellation

It appears that the spiritual renewal of Novi Sad is being undertaken here from the ground floor up and that initially it is conceived of in the form of taking control over the sale of office space, city land, and editorial policy at DNEVNIK, which local radicals have called "the most horrible newspaper." However, since it appeared that the socialists and radicals would get into a quarrel over this unfortunate newspaper, which has always been managed by whomever got off the train from Belgrade, Vojvodina radical activist Milorad Crnjanin and the chief editor and director of DNEVNIK, Dragan Radevic, agreed to smooth things out—by shutting down STAV, perhaps the only publication from that publishing house in which the dim flame of Vojvodina's liberal, pluralist tradition was maintained, even under the editorial club of a Montenegrin.

Radovan Colevic, the chief editor of STAV (which was shut down on 15 February) sent the last three issues of his biweekly publication to the printer in vain. Immediately after the elections, the newspaper was placed on "mandatory leave" status.

The top man at TV Novi Sad, Marko Kekovic, has once again joined in this entire game of the socialists and radicals for fear of falling behind the chief of DNEVNIK. He extended Vucelic's mandatory leave for journalists, so that real minorities were also sent on leave. Programs in Hungarian have been curtailed by 22 percent, while other minority programs have been cut in half. And while the new tamburitza players are at work below Varadin, Novi Sad enjoys itself, until it gets fed up.